

hoped that passage of this bill will provide the taxpayer with an efficient, sympathetic, and just hearing when he believes the tax laws have treated him unfairly. I believe this to be one of those rare measures that is so eminently fair and logical and fills such an obvious need that it should appeal immediately to all objective men, regardless of party affiliation or political philosophy. I therefore commend its early passage to my colleagues.

### Needed: A Watchdog

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the January 9, 1967, issue of Technology Week, discussing administration performance in the area of defense and aerospace affairs includes the statement:

If there was ever a time in history for a watchdog Congress, it is now. The Administration is embarked on strange courses in some critical areas and no course at all in others.

Although it touches upon only a few of the myriad of items which are an integral part of our defense and space posture, the editorial correctly points out the extraordinary responsibilities of this Congress.

In properly discharging its responsibilities this Congress must take steps to assure itself that the defense policies and projected programs of America adequately take into account the defense needs that the capabilities of our adversaries indicate will be required in the future.

For this reason, I have introduced a resolution in the 90th Congress, House Joint Resolution 2, calling for the establishment of a blue ribbon commission which will conduct an independent and objective evaluation of the projected defense posture of the United States. The blue ribbon commission would greatly assist the Congress to discharge its awesome responsibility in providing for the defense of our Nation. Companion resolutions, House Joint Resolution 3 and House Joint Resolution 4, have been introduced by Mr. LAIRD and Mr. MINSHALL.

I commend to your reading the editorial entitled "Needed: A Watchdog," and respectfully solicit the interest and support of the entire membership of the House for Joint Resolution 2.

### Anniversary of the Ukrainian Republic

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 19, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with the many thousands of Americans throughout this land in com-

memorating the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic. It was on January 22, 1918, at Kiev, that the Ukrainian people, after a long and bitter struggle, were able to realize their cherished dream—freedom. As was the case with our own American Revolution, the Ukrainian people demonstrated that sacrifices and pain must be endured if a cause is to be won. They showed that a band of courageous and dedicated men and women could indeed affect the course of their country's history. They showed what true patriotism and honor really mean.

Mr. Speaker, not only were the Ukrainian people able to successfully declare their country a republic, but exactly 1 year later in the proclamation of the act of union, it was declared that all Ukrainian lands were united into one sovereign Ukrainian Republic.

What a thrill and privilege it must have been for those gallant Ukrainian patriots who partook in the winning of their country's independence. They must have felt honored to pass on the stories of their beloved Ukraine's liberation.

Today, as we honor the memory of those events of 1918 and 1919, the Ukraine is under the control of foreign rulers in Moscow. It is our fervent hope that someday soon this unfortunate situation will be rectified. But let us not waver in our devotion to the ideals of the men and women who fought and won a free Ukraine. Let us pledge to work faithfully for the redemption of this land for which so many thousands so freely offered their fortunes and their lives.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*I remind you to rekindle the gift of God that is within you, for God did not give us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love and of a sound mind.—2 Timothy 1: 6-7.*

O God, our Father, beyond whose love and care we cannot drift, in the glory of a new day we come lifting our hearts unto Thee, praying that Thy spirit may guide us, Thy strength support us, and Thy peace pervade our minds and hearts.

Within the noise and commotion of this day may we hear Thy still small voice and responding find our weakness changed to strength, our fear to faith, and our ill will to good will.

We are disturbed by the dangers in our world, weighed down by many burdens, and tempted to be critical if not cynical, because of human error and human evil. Give us the spirit to carry on with courage and faith, believing that Thou art with us, and believing that together we can do what needs to be done. In the name of Christ we pray. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, January 19, 1967, was read and approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

### THE LATE HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Utah [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I have the sad duty to inform my colleagues that a former distinguished Member of the House passed away last night at his home in Ogden, Utah. I have reference to my friend and mentor, Dr. Henry Aldous Dixon, who served here, representing Utah's First Congressional District for 6 years, during the 84th, 85th, and 86th Congresses.

I know this announcement will grieve many of our colleagues with whom Dr. Dixon served and certainly it is a sad occasion for many thousands of people in Utah. Henry Aldous Dixon touched in a very personal way, the lives of thousands of students, including the gentle-

man now in the well, as an educator and university president.

Dr. Dixon was more than just another college or university president to the thousands of students who knew him. He was our confidant, our friend, our adviser. He had that particular quality of making each person with whom he came in contact feel that the student was the most important person in the world. He, perhaps more than any other person helped groom me for the seat I now hold. It was he who placed my name in nomination before our State convention in 1962. So for me this is a very touching and personal loss. I was student body president when he was college president. My wife was student body vice president. For 2 of the 6 years he served here in the Capitol, I was his legislative assistant. I went to school and grew up with his family. I knew him intimately and can truthfully say, "here was a great, generous, kind gentleman."

Henry Aldous Dixon was a scholar. He obtained his B.A. degree from Brigham Young University, an M.A. degree from the University of Chicago and his doctorate from the University of Southern California. He served as superintendent of the Provo, Utah, school system and for 17 years was president of Weber State

College in Ogden. As a matter of fact he was president of that college before he had attained his 30th birthday. For 2 years he was president of Utah State University.

Dr. Dixon was a member of the President's Commission on Higher Education, a member of the advisory council to the U.S. Commissioner of Education. He was a member of many learned societies and academies and held an honorary doctorate from Utah State University.

He was a businessman whose judgment was highly valued and he served variously as a bank manager, vice president, director, and a member of the board of the regional Federal Reserve Bank.

He was an author of books, an active community participant and a devoted member of the L.D.S.—Mormon—church.

Dr. Dixon and his sweet wife, Lucille, are the parents of an outstanding and very distinguished Utah family all of whom are carrying on in the traditions he and Lucille have taught them all their lives, that of service, education, spirituality, and family love.

Henry Aldous Dixon was literally drafted by his State to run for the House of Representatives less than 2 weeks prior to the final election when the then incumbent resigned.

To the office of Representative of the First Congressional District from Utah for 6 years he brought dignity, honor, and integrity.

Just last Friday I asked one of my staff members in Ogden to go to his home and call on Dr. and Mrs. Dixon. She advised me late Friday that Mrs. Dixon reported he was quite ill and she thought a call from me might cheer him. I wrote a note myself which is still on my desk to phone him this morning.

I cannot make that call today but in all sincerity I express to Mrs. Dixon and their children, Phyllis, Dorothy, Louise, John, Ruth, and David the sympathy and sense of loss that is felt at this time by Mrs. Burton and myself.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Henry Dixon was one of the finest men I have ever had the privilege of knowing. It was with great sorrow that I learned this morning of his passing.

I first met Dr. Dixon when he came to Washington to serve in the 84th Congress in January 1955; and I worked closely with him on the Agriculture Committee during the 84th, 85th, and 86th Congresses. I seldom have held more admiration for one in public service.

I well remember his quiet mannerisms and never-failing wisdom as he made his points on important agricultural matters as we worked together on that committee. His gentlemanly qualities and sincerity of purpose will be held forever in memory, and appreciated more and more each day as I continue in this work.

Dr. Dixon was always objective. More than that, he paused, took time to stop and listen to his colleagues with kindly appreciation, seeking out the best in them to join with his own knowledgeable

thoughts, thus bringing forth ideas to benefit all those in American agriculture.

For all that Dr. Dixon gave to me and that I hold close in heart, I am humbly grateful. I offer my sincerest sympathy to Mrs. Dixon and their children. May God bless them at this hour.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Utah has carefully set forth on the record the long history of accomplishments of the gentleman from Utah, Dr. Dixon, I am sure, if the gentleman from Utah would take even more time, his statement could be amplified, because Dr. Dixon's contributions to mankind as a whole were legion.

From my experiences as his associate I can only say that Dr. Dixon was a gentleman of the highest order, a scholar with a record of achievements beyond almost any of us here. He was a friend to each and every Member on both sides of the aisle. His passing is tragic. I join the gentleman from Utah in extending to Mrs. Dixon our deepest sympathy and condolences.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Utah [Mr. LLOYD].

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, a truly great and revered American who served with high distinction in the U.S. House of Representatives has passed to his reward.

Henry Aldous Dixon was, in actual fact, one of those rare individuals who was drafted for service in this body. A distinguished Utahman who had served as president of two great Utah State institutions of higher learning, he had no political ambitions when he was called in an emergency situation to serve the State and his country. I am sure it was a shattering experience for him, torn on the one hand by a love of country and a sense of responsibility which had few equals, and on the other hand by a life of academic leadership and scholarship where his services were also needed by the people of his State.

He made a decision to accept the responsibility of public service in this body, and he distinguished himself and set a standard of conduct which has been a light which those of us from his State and others have had the benefit of following in an effort to perform our responsibilities with similar fidelity.

At a time when ethics to public service is a matter of most serious investigation, the life of Henry Aldous Dixon assures us that serving in the Congress of the United States are men of honor and valor—men of unquestioned character and devotion to principle.

I join my colleagues in paying honor to his memory and expressing my regrets and sympathy to his bereaved.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURTON of Utah. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I join with the Member from Utah and others who are here at this time in paying tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Henry Aldous Dixon. His life was in-

deed filled to the brim with service to his fellow man. He was an effective community worker. He was a dedicated and successful educator and administrator. He was an able, conscientious, and dedicated Member of this body.

As a Member of Congress from Utah's First District, he was one of my closest neighbors and friends. I shall always remember with pleasure his coauthorship and his cooperation in the Colorado storage project and his willingness to work on many other matters having to do especially with what he judged to be the national welfare.

He was a gentleman in every sense of the word. He was, in fact, a noble man with the highest qualities of citizenship and Christianity.

I extend the sympathies of Mrs. Aspinall and myself to those of his loved ones who have been left in sorrow at his passing.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURTON of Utah. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply grieved this morning when the gentleman from Utah, who is now in the well, called and advised me of the passing of Dr. Dixon. It was my pleasure to serve with Dr. Dixon as a member of the House Agriculture Committee. I never knew a more dedicated Member of this House than was he. He was a fine public servant. He was pleasant. He was a hard worker. He rendered great service here and the country profited materially therefrom.

I wish to join with the gentlemen in extending sympathy to his fine family.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURTON of Utah. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join with the distinguished gentleman from Utah and the other gentlemen who have spoken. I see on the floor several of the colleagues of Dr. Dixon who served on the Committee on Agriculture with him, as I did.

He was a great scholar, a great Congressman, and a great man. We have lost one of the finest men I ever knew.

Mrs. Albert and I join others in extending our deepest and heartfelt sympathy at his passing.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURTON of Utah. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, Aldous Dixon and I came to this Congress 12 years ago this month. During the years I was here, I got to know him very well. We served together on the Committee of Agriculture. No finer Christian gentleman ever lived than Aldous Dixon.

Mrs. Teague and I join with all other Members in sending our sympathy to his family.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?



Mr. BURTON of Utah. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to a great man on the passing of Dr. Henry Dixon, of Utah.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Henry Dixon, of Utah, made an indelible impression upon me from the time that I first met him. He was a member of the House Committee on Agriculture during his full service in the House. I came to know him well as his efforts in behalf of the farmer and farm people were recognized from the very start. His education and background in the field of finance and as a former college president, as well as his broad community activities and full grasp of the problems at hand made of him a recognized leader among us. He was a statesman in the truest sense. He was a sincere person and one who would fight for his convictions.

I know of no man with whom I have served who has come with such rapidity into the hearts and minds of his colleagues as did Dr. Dixon.

He was an erudite and scholarly member of this body. He was equal to any situation with which he was confronted. He possessed a pleasing manner and had an abundance of tact and diplomacy.

He served only a few years in the House and retired voluntarily.

He attended the Thursday morning House prayer breakfasts regularly. When he would talk to the group quite a large attendance resulted as he always brought a fine and most constructive message. He was asked to lead the group in prayer, as I recall, on one occasion, and among other things he said this:

O, Lord, give us the power to meet the tasks, but never the tasks to meet the power.

I would like to quote a portion of a poem by Joseph Gilbert Holland which I believe is most fitting:

God give us men! A time like this demands  
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and  
ready hands;

Men whom the lust of office does not kill;  
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;  
Men who possess opinions and a will;  
Men who have honor; men who will not lie.

Henry Dixon was such a man. "He fought the good fight; he kept the faith; a crown of righteousness awaits him."

Mrs. Gathings joins me in conveying to his loved ones our sympathy on his passing.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I join our colleagues in expressing keen sadness on this occasion. To me, Henry Aldous Dixon was always "Doc." I knew him, as those of you who served with him knew him, as an honest, dedicated, and gentlemanly public servant.

More than anything he wanted to serve his people well, with honor and dignity. For three Congresses, he did just that.

"Doc" Dixon was a highly educated person and a true scholar, but he never once wore his rank on his sleeve. He was humble and sincere in all that he did and said.

It is the service of people like Henry Aldous Dixon that makes this the greatest legislative body in the world. I am proud to have known him and proud to have served with him.

Mrs. Halleck joins me in extending to Mrs. Dixon and the members of her family our deepest sympathy.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, today, with all who served with Henry Dixon, we mourn. We have lost a friend, his State and the district he served has lost a superb public servant. The Nation he loved and served here so well and sincerely has lost a statesman.

He was loved and appreciated for his graciousness, for his fraternal spirit, for his fairness, and for his wholesome, friendly attitude.

He served his community and his State in its most important area—education. He knew and had deep convictions that it was his business to make other men wiser and better as he could find or as he could make opportunity to do so. He made opportunity to serve education and inspired people of little and great talent to seek higher goals begetting understanding. And, he could be more influential than most in his area because he had deep and abiding convictions about the importance of morality. He knew, practiced, and reflected the important truth that "religion and morality are indispensable to political morality." Because of his avid interest, because of his ability to articulate, and because of his capacity to pursue with vigor, he was given many opportunities for leadership. These will be referred to by others and they stand as a monument to his convictions and contributions.

It was my good fortune and, indeed, advantage for all who served with him here in this legislative arena, for he brought to this establishment, this greatest of all legislative halls, the sense of dedication and consecration rarely witnessed. No matter what the task here, he prepared himself to work intelligently and effectively for all that was good and for all the people. I hear him still as he pled the cause of education, as he helped us wrestle with the problems of education that were real, genuine, and important to our economy and to our ideals and Nation. He could speak of the agricultural problems from experience as a farm boy. He could show us the record and problems and answers in higher education. He could keep us thinking with our eyes to the future. This country is bettered, it is nobler, it is greater because he served with us and helped us to do a better job.

As I ponder now on his thinking and his life, I am reminded how appropriate are the words written by a great American author, Edwin Markham—

Here was a man to hold against the world,  
A man to match the mountains and the sea.

These words written for Lincoln are appropriate as we think of the monumental contributions of this, our friend, Henry Dixon.

How did Henry Dixon want to be remembered and did he want and deserve a monument? How he wanted to be remembered is speculation, for he never, to my knowledge, spoke of it. I am sure, however, that he will be remembered. The institutions he served, will always be aware of his wholesome influence and contributions. Most of all his memory will be in the hearts and minds of the

thousands of boys and girls who have come under his influence as a teacher, leader, and minister of good will. His monument he built in the hearts and minds who know the granite and stability of his character.

Mrs. Schwengel and I join his host of friends in extending our sympathy and prayers in this hour of grief and tribulation. In making this gesture, I am mindful that the memory of his beautiful, active, and fruitful life will ease the burdens of this hour. I paraphrase as I recall that this brave and tender man in every storm of life was oak and rock and in the sunshine he was vine and flower.

He was the friend of all heroic souls. He climbed the heights and left all superstition far below, while on his forehead fell the golden dawning of the grander day. Our lives are richer and our heritage is greater because he lived.

We say today, farewell Henry Dixon until we meet again in some day in some other way.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. With the death on Sunday of former Congressman Henry Aldous Dixon, the Nation and his home State of Utah witness the passing of a great American whose record of total dedication to the service of others is one we all might well emulate.

Many southern Idaho students from my district came under the influence of Dr. Dixon during his tenure as president of Weber State College and later of Utah State University. He never failed to inspire them with his zest for life and personal philosophy of the value of preparing oneself through education to make a genuine contribution to society.

Henry Aldous Dixon's stature was such that when a strange last-minute set of circumstances left his party without a candidate, he was the unanimous choice to run for Congress where he served three consecutive terms from 1954 to 1960. His honorable and dedicated service here will long be remembered by his colleagues.

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on this matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Utah? There was no objection.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I wanted to take this brief moment only to pay tribute to a former colleague who served with me on the Committee on Agriculture for many years. Dr. Henry Dixon was a friend of every member of that committee. He was a kindly man who sought to serve his



people and his country in what he believed to be the most effective manner. He was an intelligent man, the former president of his own State college of agriculture, an able man who contributed much to our deliberations, and a fine outstanding American citizen whose passing we all mourn.

#### COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS AND SUBCOMMITTEES THEREOF

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I send to the desk H. Res. 164 and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Appropriations and the subcommittees thereof be authorized to sit during sessions and recesses of the Ninetieth Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas? There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO COMMITTEES

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 165) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the following standing committees of the House of Representatives:

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE: W. R. Poage (chairman), Texas; E. C. Gathings, Arkansas; John L. McMillan, South Carolina; Thomas G. Abernethy, Mississippi; Watkins M. Abbott, Virginia; Paul C. Jones, Missouri; Frank A. Stubblefield, Kentucky; Graham Purcell, Texas; Maston O'Neal, Georgia; Thomas S. Foley, Washington; Joseph Y. Resnick, New York; Eligio de la Garza, Texas; Joseph P. Vigorito, Pennsylvania; Walter B. Jones, North Carolina; John G. Dow, New York; Bill Nichols, Alabama; G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery, Mississippi; Frank J. Brasco, New York; W. S. (Bill) Stuckey, Georgia; John R. Rarick, Louisiana.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY: Wright Patman (chairman), Texas; Abraham J. Multer, New York; William A. Barrett, Pennsylvania; Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan, Missouri; Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin; Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio; William S. Moorhead, Pennsylvania; Robert G. Stephens, Jr., Georgia; Fernand J. St Germain, Rhode Island; Henry B. Gonzalez, Texas; Joseph G. Minish, New Jersey; Richard T. Hanna, California; Tom S. Gettys, South Carolina; Frank Annunzio, Illinois; Thomas M. Rees, California; Jonathan B. Bingham, New York; Nick Galifianakis, North Carolina; Tom Bevill, Alabama; Peter N. Kyros, Maine.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: John L. McMillan (chairman), South Carolina; Thomas G. Abernethy, Mississippi; William L. Dawson, Illinois; Abraham J. Multer, New York; John Dowdy, Texas; Basil L. Whitener, North Carolina; B. F. Sisk, California; Charles C. Diggs, Michigan; G. Elliott Hagan, Georgia; Don Fuqua, Florida; Donald M. Fraser, Minnesota; Brock Adams, Washington; Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Indiana.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR: Carl D. Perkins (chairman), Kentucky; Edith Green, Oregon; Frank Thompson, Jr., New Jersey; Elmer J. Holland, Pennsylvania; John H. Dent, Pennsylvania; Roman C. Pucinski,

Illinois; Dominick V. Daniels, New Jersey; John Brademas, Indiana; James G. O'Hara, Michigan; Hugh L. Carey, New York; Augustus F. Hawkins, California; Sam M. Gibbons, Florida; William D. Ford, Michigan; William D. Hathaway, Maine; Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii; James H. Scheuer, New York; Lloyd Meeds, Washington; Phillip Burton, California.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Thomas E. Morgan (chairman), Pennsylvania; Clement J. Zablocki, Wisconsin; Omar Burleson, Texas; Edna F. Kelly, New York; Wayne L. Hays, Ohio; Armistead I. Selden, Jr., Alabama; Barratt O'Hara, Illinois; L. H. Fountain, North Carolina; Dante B. Fascell, Florida; Leonard Farbstein, New York; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Michigan; William T. Murphy, Illinois; Cornelius E. Gallagher, New Jersey; Robert N. C. Nix, Pennsylvania; John S. Monagan, Connecticut; Donald M. Fraser, Minnesota; Benjamin S. Rosenthal, New York; Edward R. Roybal, California; John C. Culver, Iowa; Lee H. Hamilton, Indiana; John V. Tunney, California.

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS: William L. Dawson (chairman), Illinois; Chet Holifield, California; Jack Brooks, Texas; L. H. Fountain, North Carolina; Porter Hardy, Jr., Virginia; John A. Blatnik, Minnesota; Robert E. Jones, Alabama; Edward A. Garmatz, Maryland; John E. Moss, California; Dante B. Fascell, Florida; Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin; John S. Monagan, Connecticut; Torbert H. Macdonald, Massachusetts; J. Edward Roush, Indiana; William S. Moorhead, Pennsylvania; Cornelius E. Gallagher, New Jersey; Wm. J. Randall, Missouri; Benjamin S. Rosenthal, New York; Jim Wright, Texas; Fernand J. St Germain, Rhode Island.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS: Wayne N. Aspinall (chairman), Colorado; James A. Haley, Florida; Ed Edmondson, Oklahoma; Walter S. Baring, Nevada; Roy A. Taylor, North Carolina; Harold T. Johnson, California; Hugh L. Carey, New York; Morris K. Udall, Arizona; Phillip Burton, California; John V. Tunney, California; Thomas S. Foley, Washington; Richard White, Texas; Robert W. Kastenmeyer, Wisconsin; James G. O'Hara, Michigan; William F. Ryan, New York; Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii; James Kee, West Virginia; Lloyd Meeds, Washington; Abraham Kazen, Texas.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE: Harley O. Staggers (chairman), West Virginia; Samuel N. Friedel, Maryland; Torbert H. Macdonald, Massachusetts; John Jarman, Oklahoma; John E. Moss, California; John D. Dingell, Michigan; Paul G. Rogers, Florida; Horace R. Kornegay, North Carolina; Lionel Van Deerlin, California; J. J. Pickle, Texas; Fred B. Rooney, Pennsylvania; John M. Murphy, New York; David E. Satterfield III, Virginia; Daniel J. Ronan, Illinois; Brock Adams, Washington; Richard L. Ottinger, New York; Ray Blanton, Tennessee.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY: Emanuel Celler (chairman), New York; Michael A. Feighan, Ohio; Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana; Peter W. Rodino, Jr., New Jersey; Byron G. Rogers, Colorado; Harold D. Donohue, Massachusetts; Jack Brooks, Texas; William M. Tuck, Virginia; Robert T. Ashmore, South Carolina; John Dowdy, Texas; Basil L. Whitener, North Carolina; Robert W. Kastenmeyer, Wisconsin; James C. Corman, California; William L. St. Onge, Connecticut; Don Edwards, California; William L. Hungate, Missouri; Herbert Tenzer, New York; John Conyers, Jr., Michigan; Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Indiana; Joshua Ellberg, Pennsylvania.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES: Edward A. Garmatz (chairman), Maryland; Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan, Missouri; Frank M. Clark, Pennsylvania; Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio; John D. Dingell, Michigan; Alton Lennon, North Carolina; Thomas N. Downing, Virginia; James A. Byrne, Pennsylvania; Edith Green, Oregon; Paul G. Rogers, Florida; Frank A. Stubblefield, Kentucky; John M. Murphy, New York; William L. St. Onge, Connecticut; John G. Dow, New

York; Joseph E. Karth, Minnesota; William D. Hathaway, Maine; Walter B. Jones, North Carolina; Richard T. Hanna, California; Henry Helstoski, New Jersey.

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE: Thaddeus J. Dulski (chairman), New York; David N. Henderson, North Carolina; Arnold Olsen, Montana; Morris K. Udall, Arizona; Dominick V. Daniels, New Jersey; Robert N. C. Nix, Pennsylvania; Joe R. Pool, Texas; William J. Green, Pennsylvania; James M. Hanley, New York; Charles H. Wilson, California; Jerome R. Waldie, California; Richard White, Texas; William D. Ford, Michigan; Lee H. Hamilton, Indiana; Frank J. Brasco, New York.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS: George H. Fallon (chairman), Maryland; John A. Blatnik, Minnesota; Robert E. Jones, Alabama; John C. Kluczynski, Illinois; Jim Wright, Texas; Kenneth J. Gray, Illinois; Frank M. Clark, Pennsylvania; Ed Edmondson, Oklahoma; Harold T. Johnson, California; W. J. Bryan Dorn, South Carolina; David N. Henderson, North Carolina; Arnold Olsen, Montana; Ray Roberts, Texas; Robert A. Everett, Tennessee; Richard D. McCarthy, New York; James Kee, West Virginia; James J. Howard, New Jersey; Edwin W. Edwards, Louisiana; Jerome R. Waldie, California.

COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS: George P. Miller (chairman), California; Olin E. Teague, Texas; Joseph E. Karth, Minnesota; Ken Hechler, West Virginia; Emilio Q. Daddario, Connecticut; J. Edward Roush, Indiana; John W. Davis, Georgia; William F. Ryan, New York; Thomas N. Downing, Virginia; Joe D. Waggoner, Jr., Louisiana; Don Fuqua, Florida; Carl Albert, Oklahoma; George E. Brown, Jr., California; Lester L. Wolff, New York; William J. Green, Pennsylvania; Earle Cabell, Texas; Jack Brinkley, Georgia; Bob Eckhardt, Texas.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES: Edwin E. Willis (chairman), Louisiana; William M. Tuck, Virginia; Joe R. Pool, Texas; Richard H. Ichord, Missouri; John C. Culver, Iowa.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS: Olin E. Teague (chairman), Texas; W. J. Bryan Dorn, South Carolina; James A. Haley, Florida; Walter S. Baring, Nevada; Robert A. Everett, Tennessee; Thaddeus J. Dulski, New York; Horace R. Kornegay, North Carolina; Ray Roberts, Texas; George E. Brown, Jr., California; David E. Satterfield III, Virginia; Henry Helstoski, New Jersey; Joseph Y. Resnick, New York; James M. Hanley, New York; Roman C. Pucinski, Illinois.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], for a question and/or statement.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the extraordinary action which was taken in the last Congress with respect to my seniority position on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the Committee on the District of Columbia, it is my understanding that the Democratic Committee on Committees has felt it incumbent on them to take the matter of my committee rank to the caucus for final determination. In view of that, Mr. Speaker, I have directed a letter to the chairman of the Committee on Committees requesting that I not be assigned to any committee until such time as this matter can be determined finally by the caucus.

Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding, in view of the committee assignments that have just been read, that this request was acceded to.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in fairness to my



Democratic colleagues—and in particular those on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and in fairness to me and to the people which it is my honor to represent—it would appear to me that this matter should be disposed of as soon as practicable.

Mr. Speaker, this afternoon I am prepared to direct a letter to the chairman of the caucus, requesting that a caucus be called as soon as practicable for the purpose of determining my relative rank in being assigned to my two committee assignments.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that there be included in the RECORD at this point the letter to which the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] referred.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

(The letter referred to follows:)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., January 23, 1967.  
Hon. WILBUR D. MILLS,  
Chairman, Democratic Committee on Committees, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: If the Committee on Committees is unable at this time to place me other than in fifteenth position on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I respectfully request that I not be assigned now.

This request applies to the Committee on the District of Columbia, also.

I am most grateful to you and other Members of the Committee for the consideration given me.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN BELL WILLIAMS.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have permission to insert their remarks today under the 1-minute rule on the subject of the President's message, and 5 legislative days in which to insert their remarks in the RECORD on this same subject, and that my remarks and those following mine may be inserted immediately following the reading of the message.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri will state his point of order.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, since this is a controversial matter I make the point of order that a quorum is not present. I believe that all Members should hear the President's message discussed.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the distinguished gentleman that we have not as yet reached that point.

Mr. HALL. Nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, I would insist on my point of order that a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield so that the Speaker may agree to the unanimous-consent request which I have made in behalf of the other Members?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I will defer

my point of order pending the unanimous-consent request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent that all Members may have permission to extend their remarks in the body of the RECORD for 5 legislative days on the subject of the message that was sent by the President of the United States; and that the remarks of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] and those of the Members following the gentleman from Oklahoma, may appear following the reading of the message of the President of the United States.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri makes the point of order that a quorum is not present.

Does the gentleman from Missouri insist on his point of order?

Mr. HALL. I do, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri makes the point of order that a quorum is not present, and evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 7]

Ashbrook	Flood	Morton
Ashley	Galifianakis	Multer
Barrett	Gallagher	Nix
Battin	Gardner	O'Konski
Berry	Garmatz	Ottinger
Bingham	Gialmo	Pelly
Blackburn	Green, Pa.	Pettis
Blatnik	Grover	Philbin
Bolling	Halleck	Pike
Bow	Hammer-	Pool
Brasco	schmidt	Pucinski
Bray	Hansen, Wash.	Quillen
Brinkley	Hébert	Reifel
Brock	Heckler, Mass.	Ronan
Broomfield	Helstoski	Rooney, N.Y.
Brotzman	Henderson	Roybal
Brown, Calif.	Hicks	Ruppe
Cahill	Holland	St. Germain
Casey	Horton	St. Onge
Celler	Hosmer	Scheuer
Clancy	Hull	Selden
Clark	Hunt	Shibley
Collier	Irwin	Sikes
Conte	Jarman	Smith, Calif.
Conyers	Keith	Smith, Iowa
Corbett	Kluczynski	Smith, N.Y.
Corman	Kupferman	Snyder
Cramer	Kuykendall	Springer
Daniels	Laird	Stephens
Davis, Ga.	Long, La.	Stratton
Davis, Wis.	Long, Md.	Stubblefield
de la Garza	McCarthy	Taylor
Devine	McCulloch	Teague, Tex.
Diggs	McDade	Tenzer
Donohue	Macdonald,	Thompson, Ga.
Dulski	Mass.	Thompson, N.J.
Dwyer	MacGregor	Van Deerlin
Eckhardt	Mailliard	Watkins
Edmondson	Martin	Watson
Edwards, La.	Mathias, Md.	Whalley
Eshleman	May	Williams, Pa.
Evins, Tenn.	Michel	Wilson, Bob
Fallon	Minish	Wolff
Farbstein	Minshall	Wyatt
Feighan	Monagan	Yates
Fino	Moore	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall, 296 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

#### SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Ways and Means:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting to you my second annual report on the operation of the International Coffee Agreement as required by Public Law 89-23.

During the past year the International Coffee Agreement has successfully served both coffee producers and consumers in a changing market situation. New measures have made the agreement more flexible and responsive to consumer wants. Coffee prices continued to be reasonably stable, at levels fair to consuming and producing countries alike.

Nevertheless, major problems remain. Until production is brought into balance with demand, countries heavily dependent on earnings from their production of coffee will face a continuing threat of instability. The coffee agreement provides time to work out solutions. It has already encouraged producing countries to pay more attention to the need to diversify their economies.

With cooperation from all members, the coffee agreement will continue to operate as a stabilizing force in the world coffee market. It is an important adjunct to the Alliance for Progress in Latin America and to our economic assistance programs in other parts of the world.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 19, 1967.

#### OLDER AMERICANS — MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 40)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

America is a young nation. But each year a larger proportion of our population joins the ranks of the senior citizens. Today, over 19 million Americans are 65 or older—a number equal to the combined populations of 20 States. One out of every 10 citizens is in this age group—more than twice as many as a half century ago.

These figures represent a national triumph. The American born in 1900 could expect to reach his 47th birthday. The American born today has a life expectancy of 70 years. Tomorrow, the miracles of man's knowledge will stretch the lifespan even farther.

These figures also represent a national challenge. One of the tests of a great civilization is the compassion and respect shown to its elders. Too many of our senior citizens have been left behind by the progress they worked most of their lives to create. Too often the wisdom and experience of our senior citizens is lost or ignored. Many who are able and willing to work suffer the bitter rebuff of arbitrary and unjust job discrimination.

In this busy and productive Nation, the elderly are too frequently destined to lead empty, neglected lives:

Five and three-tenths million older Americans have yearly incomes below the poverty level.

Only one out of five has a job, often at low wages.

Over 2 million elderly citizens are on welfare.

Nearly 40 percent of our single older citizens have total assets of less than \$1,000.

Countless numbers dwell in city and rural slums, lonely and forgotten, isolated from the invigorating spirit of the American community. They suffer a disproportionate burden of bad housing, poor health facilities, inferior recreation and rehabilitation services.

#### THE FEDERAL ROLE

The historic Social Security Act of 1935, sponsored by that great President Franklin D. Roosevelt, first proclaimed a Federal role in the task of creating a life of dignity for the older American. By 1951, the number of our senior citizens who had earned and received social security benefits exceeded the number on public welfare. Today, more than 15 million Americans over 65 draw social security, while only 2 million remain on the welfare rolls.

We in the executive branch and you in the Congress have extended the Federal role in other ways:

The last eight housing acts contain special public housing provisions for the elderly and special assistance for them when they rent, buy or modernize their own homes.

The Hill-Burton hospital program seeks to expand and improve nursing homes and other long-term care facilities.

Public welfare provides programs to help restore older people to self-support and self-care.

The manpower development and training programs direct special efforts at the problems of the middle-aged and older Americans.

The National Institutes of Health have established programs of research on aging.

In 1965, the Congress enacted and I signed into law two landmark measures for older Americans:

Medicare, to ease the burden of hospital and doctor bills.

The Older Americans Act, to develop community services to put more meaning into the lives of the senior citizens.

When he signed the 1935 Social Security Act, President Franklin Roosevelt said:

This law . . . represents a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete.

President Truman in 1950 and President Kennedy in 1961 proposed and the Congress passed legislation to improve the social security system.

The time has come to build on the solid foundations provided by the work of Congress and the executive branch over the last three decades. Last summer, I declared a bill of rights for older Americans—to fix as our Nation's goal an adequate income, a decent home, and a meaningful retirement for each senior citizen.

Now we must take steps to move closer toward that goal.

Let us raise social security benefits to a level which will better meet today's needs.

Let us improve and extend the health care available to the elderly.

Let us attack the roots of unjust job discrimination.

Let us renew and expand our programs to help bring fulfillment and meaning to retirement years.

#### TOWARD AN ADEQUATE INCOME

Social security benefits today are grossly inadequate.

Almost 2½ million individuals receive benefits based on the minimum of \$44 a month. The average monthly benefit is only \$84.

Although social security benefits keep 5½ million aged persons above the poverty line, more than 5 million still live in poverty.

A great nation cannot tolerate these conditions. I propose social security legislation which will bring the greatest improvement in living standards for the elderly since the act was passed in 1935.

I recommend, effective July 1, 1967:

1. A 20-percent overall increase in social security payments.

2. An increase of 59 percent for the 2.5 million people now receiving minimum benefits—to \$70 for an individual and \$105 for a married couple.

3. An increase of at least 15 percent for the remaining 20.5 million beneficiaries.

4. An increase to \$150 in the monthly minimum benefit for a retired couple with 25 years of coverage—to \$100 a month for an individual.

5. An increase in the special benefits paid to more than 900,000 persons 72 or over, who have made little or no social security contribution—from \$35 to \$50 monthly for an individual; from \$52.50 to \$75 for a couple.

6. Special benefits for an additional 200,000 persons 72 or over, who have never received benefits before.

During the first year, additional payments would total \$4.1 billion—almost five times greater than the major increase enacted in 1950, almost six times greater than the increase of 1961. These proposals will take 1.4 million Americans out of poverty this year—a major step toward our goal that every elderly citizen have an adequate income and a meaningful retirement.

The time has also come to make other improvements in the act.

The present social security system leaves 70,000 severely disabled widows under age 62 without protection.

The limits on the income that retired workers can earn and still receive bene-

fits are so low that they discourage those who are able and willing to work from seeking jobs.

Some farmworkers qualify for only minimum social security benefits. Others fail to qualify at all. As a result, many farmworkers must go on the welfare rolls in their old age.

Federal employees in the civil service and foreign service retirement systems are now excluded from social security coverage. Those having less than 5 years' service receive no benefits if they die, become disabled, or leave Federal employment. Those who leave after longer service lose survivor and disability protection.

I propose legislation to eliminate these inequities and close these loopholes.

I recommend that:

Social security benefits be extended to severely disabled widows under 62.

The earnings exemption be increased by 12 percent, from \$125 to \$140 a month, from \$1,500 to \$1,680 a year.

The amount above \$1,680 a year up to which a beneficiary can retain \$1 in payments for each \$2 in earnings be increased from \$2,700 to \$2,880.

One-half million additional farmworkers be given social security coverage.

Federal service be applied as social security credit for those employees who are not eligible for civil service benefits when they retire, become disabled, or die.

Social security financing must continue on an actuarially sound basis. This will require future adjustments both in the amount of annual earnings credited toward benefits and in the contribution rate of employers and employees.

I recommend:

A three-step increase in the amount of annual earnings credited toward benefits—to \$7,800 in 1968; to \$9,000 in 1971; and to \$10,800 in 1974.

That the scheduled rate increase to 4.4 percent in 1969 be revised to 4.5 percent; and that the increase to 4.85 percent in 1973 be revised to 5 percent.

#### PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Despite these improvements in social security, many elderly Americans will continue to depend on public assistance payments for the essentials of life. Yet these welfare programs are far behind the times. While many States have recently improved their eligibility standards for medical assistance, their regular welfare standards are woefully inadequate.

In nine States, the average amounts paid for old-age assistance are as low as \$50 a month, or less.

Twenty-seven States do not even meet their own minimum standards for welfare payments.

The Federal Old-Age Assistance Act allows the States to provide special incentives to encourage older persons on welfare to seek employment. But almost half the States have not taken advantage of this provision.

To make vitally needed changes in public assistance laws, I recommend legislation to provide that:

State welfare agencies be required to raise cash payments to welfare recipients to the level the State itself sets as the minimum for subsistence;



State agencies be required to bring these minimum standards up to date annually;

Each State maintain its welfare substance standards at not less than two-thirds the level set for medical assistance;

State welfare programs be required to establish a work-incentive provision for old-age assistance recipients.

#### TAX REFORM FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

Our Federal income tax laws today unfairly discriminate against older taxpayers with low incomes who continue to work after 65. The system of deductions, credits, and exemptions is so complex that many senior citizens are unable to understand them and thus do not receive the full benefits to which they are entitled.

I recommend that:

The tax structure for senior citizens be completely overhauled, simplified, and made fairer.

Existing tax discrimination against the older Americans who are willing and able to work be eliminated.

Under this proposal, taxes will be reduced for almost 3 million older Americans—two out of every three who now pay taxes. Nearly 500,000 of these Americans will no longer have to pay taxes. There will be some increases for those in the upper tax brackets—those best able to afford them.

#### THE SUCCESS AND THE FUTURE OF MEDICARE

During the long wait for medicare, many older Americans needlessly suffered and died because they could not afford proper health care. Nearly half had no health insurance protection. For most, coverage was grossly inadequate. As a result, men and women spent their later years overburdened by health care costs. Many were forced to turn to public assistance. Others had to impose financial hardship on their relatives. Still others went without necessary medical care.

Since medicare went into effect just over 6 months ago more than 2½ million older Americans have received hospital care; hospitals have received nearly \$1 billion in payments; more than 3½ million Americans have been treated by doctors under the voluntary coverage of medicare; 130,000 people have received home health services, and medicare paid the bills; 6,700 hospitals, with more than 98 percent of the general hospital beds in the Nation, have become partners in medicare.

High standards set by medicare will raise the level of health care for all citizens—not just the aged. Compliance with title VI of the Civil Rights Act has hastened the end of racial discrimination in hospitals and has brought good medical care to many who were previously denied it.

Medicare is an unqualified success. Nevertheless, there are improvements which can be made and shortcomings which need prompt attention.

The 1.5 million seriously disabled Americans under 65 who receive social security and railroad retirement benefits should be included under medicare. The typical member of this group is over 50. He finds himself in much the same

plight as the elderly. He is dependent on social security benefits to support himself and his family. He is plagued by high medical expenses and poor insurance protection.

I recommend that medicare be extended to the 1.5 million disabled Americans under 65 now covered by the social security and railroad retirement systems.

Certain types of podiatry services are important to the health of the elderly. Yet, these services are excluded under present law. I recommend that foot treatment, other than routine care, be covered under medicare whether performed by podiatrists or physicians.

Finally, medicare does not cover prescription drugs for a patient outside the hospital. We recognize that many practical difficulties remain unresolved concerning the cost and quality of such drugs. This matter deserves our prompt attention. I am directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to undertake immediately a comprehensive study of the problems of including the cost of prescription drugs under medicare.

#### NURSING AND HEALTH CARE

Medicare and the medical assistance program have removed major financial barriers to health services. Federally assisted programs are developing health facilities, manpower, and services—many targeted to the needs of older Americans.

We have made progress, but serious problems remain. Although the number of agencies that provide health services to individuals in their own homes has grown to more than 1,400 throughout the country, their services are often limited in scope and quality. Many communities still have no such services available.

The great majority of nursing homes are ill equipped to provide services required for medicare and medical assistance patients. Of the 20,000 nursing homes in the country, only 3,000 have qualified for medicare. Of the 850,000 beds in nursing homes, less than half—415,000—meet Hill-Burton standards for long-term care. Many do not even meet minimum fire and safety standards.

Expenditures for nursing home care have increased by 400 percent in the past decade. They now exceed \$1.2 billion annually. Federal, State, and local governments pay more than a third of these costs—and the Government share is rising rapidly.

We have learned that there is no single answer to the problem of providing the highest quality health care to the elderly. Just as their needs vary, so must the approach.

Some senior citizens can be treated in their homes, where they can be close to their families and friends. Others may need once-a-week care at a nearby outpatient clinic. When serious illness strikes, extended hospitalization may be required. When chronic disease is involved, care in a nursing home may be needed. And when postoperative care for short durations is necessary, specialized facilities may be essential.

Thus, we must pursue a wide range of community programs and services to meet the needs of the elderly—to allow

them freedom to choose the right services at the right time and in the right place.

To move toward our health goal for the elderly, I propose to:

Extend the partnership for health legislation to improve State and local health planning for the elderly;

Launch special pilot projects to bring comprehensive medical and rehabilitation services to the aged;

Begin an extensive research effort to develop the best means of organizing, delivering, and financing health services needed by the aged;

Expand visiting nurses and other home health services.

I am requesting funds for more health facilities and better health care institutions for the aged, including the full authorization of \$280 million for construction under the Hill-Burton program to provide new beds and to modernize existing facilities; mortgage guarantees and loans to construct nursing homes for the aged; infirmaries and nursing units in senior citizens' housing projects; intensive research to find new approaches in design and operation of hospitals, nursing homes, extended care facilities, and other health institutions.

#### JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE OLDER AMERICAN

In our Nation, there are thousands of retired teachers, lawyers, businessmen, social workers and recreation specialists, physicians, nurses, and others, who possess skills which the country badly needs.

Hundreds of thousands not yet old, not yet voluntarily retired, find themselves jobless because of arbitrary age discrimination. Despite our present low rate of unemployment, there has been a persistent average of 850,000 people age 45 and over who are unemployed.

Today, more than three-quarters of a billion dollars in unemployment insurance is paid each year to workers who are 45 or over. They comprise 27 percent of all the unemployed—and 40 percent of the long-term unemployed. In 1965, the Secretary of Labor reported to the Congress and the President that approximately half of all private job openings were barred to applicants over 55; a quarter were closed to applicants over 45.

In economic terms, this is a serious—and senseless—loss to a nation on the move. But the greater loss is the cruel sacrifice in happiness and well-being which joblessness imposes on these citizens and their families.

Opportunity must be opened to the many Americans over 45 who are qualified and willing to work. We must end arbitrary age limits on hiring. Though 23 States have already enacted laws to prohibit discriminatory practices, the problem is one of national concern and magnitude.

I recommend that—

The Congress enact a law prohibiting arbitrary and unjust discrimination in employment because of a person's age.

The law cover workers 45 to 65 years old.

The law provide for conciliation and, if necessary, enforcement through cease and desist orders, with court review.

The law provide an exception for special situations where age is a reasonable



occupational qualification, where an employee is discharged for good cause, or where the employee is separated under a regular retirement system.

Educational and research programs on age discrimination be strengthened.

Employment opportunities for older workers cannot be increased solely by measures eliminating discrimination. Today's high standards of education, training, and mobility often favor the younger worker. Many older men and women are unemployed because they are not fitted for the jobs of modern technology; because they live where there are no longer any jobs, or because they are seeking the jobs of a bygone era.

We have already expanded training and education for all Americans. But older workers have not been able to take full advantage of these programs. In many State employment offices, there is need for additional counselors, trained to deal with the special problems of older workers.

I am directing the Secretary of Labor to establish a more comprehensive program of information, counseling, and placement service for older workers through the Federal-State system of employment services.

#### ENRICHING THE LATER YEARS

Old age is too often a time of lonely sadness, when it should be a time for service and continued self-development. For many, later life can offer a second career. It can mean new opportunities for community service. It can be a time to develop new interests, acquire new knowledge, find new ways to use leisure hours.

Our goal is not merely to prolong our citizens' lives, but to enrich them.

Congress overwhelmingly endorsed this goal, when it passed the Older Americans Act. As a result, we have launched a new partnership at all levels of government, and among voluntary and private organizations. We have established a new agency and a new impetus to promote this partnership.

Forty-one States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico—where more than 91 percent of our older persons live—are now engaged in providing special services for senior citizens. Two hundred and seventy community programs have already been started. Several hundred more will begin in the next few months.

We are helping States and communities to—

Establish central information and referral services so that our older citizens can learn about and receive all the benefits to which they are entitled;

Begin or expand services in more than 65 more senior citizen centers;

Increase volunteer-service opportunities for older people;

Offer preretirement courses and information about retirement;

Support services which help older people remain in their homes and neighborhoods.

To carry forward this partnership, I recommend that:

The Older Americans Act be extended and its funding levels be increased.

Appropriations under the neighborhood facilities program be increased to

construct multipurpose centers to serve senior citizens with a wide range of educational, recreational, and health services, and to provide information about housing and employment opportunities.

A pilot program be started to provide nutritional meals in senior citizen centers.

Decent housing plays an important role in promoting self-respect and dignity in the later years. In the past 3 years, the total Federal investment in special housing programs for the elderly has doubled—to over \$2.5 billion.

Rental housing for the elderly is one of our most successful housing programs. We have made commitments for about 187,000 units to house more than 280,000 persons. Direct loan and grant programs assist many senior citizens to improve their homes in urban renewal areas, and in areas of concentrated code enforcement where blight is worst. The new rent supplement program, enacted in 1965, promises to help thousands of low income older citizens to have good housing at reasonable rents.

I recommend that these housing programs be continued and that the full amount authorized for the 1968 rent supplement program be provided. I am directing the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make certain that the model cities program gives special attention to the needs of older people in poor housing and decaying neighborhoods.

The talents of elderly Americans must not lie fallow. For most Americans, the most enriching moments of life are those spent helping their fellow man. I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to initiate and expand programs to make a wider range of volunteer activities available to older citizens to enlist them in searching out isolated and incapacitated older people; to build on the success of the foster grandparent and medicare alert programs by using public-spirited older Americans as tutors and classroom aids in Headstart and other programs; to organize older citizens as VISTA volunteers in a variety of community efforts.

#### OUR OBLIGATION

These are my major recommendations to the first session of the 90th Congress on behalf of older Americans. But this message does not end our quest, as a nation, for a better life for these citizens.

I believe that these new measures, together with programs already enacted, will bring us closer to fulfilling the goals set forth in our bill of rights for older Americans.

We should look upon the growing number of older citizens not as a problem or a burden for our democracy, but as an opportunity to enrich their lives and, through them, the lives of all of us.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 23, 1967.

#### THE PROPOSED SOCIAL SECURITY ACT AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my re-

marks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the proposed Social Security Act amendments offered by President Johnson represent the third and perhaps most significant step in his overall effort to bring older Americans into the mainstream of American life by assuring them a minimum standard of living. The Medicare Act and the Older Americans Act have made great strides toward coping with problems of older citizens. Enrichment of social security benefits will strike a telling blow against the poverty that afflicts some 5 million retired workers. The President pointed out in his message that the average monthly benefit is only \$84. He proposes not only to increase benefits across the board by approximately 20 percent but also to deal specifically with the plight of disabled widows, farmworkers, and workers in other categories whose benefits fall drastically below a reasonable standard of living. The raising of the earnings exemption will permit social security retirees to contribute to the productivity of our country and our economy to the extent they are able; this is consistent with our overall efforts to keep able older workers active and occupied. The actuarial soundness of the social security system also would be maintained by adjustments in creditable earnings and contributions.

The circumstances of life have changed so radically since the Social Security Act was passed in 1935 that the need for major adjustments is now both reasonable and urgent. I hope that we may proceed to the consideration of the President's proposals with all possible speed.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States today sent up a message that will assure a more meaningful life in retirement for America's older citizens.

Basic to the well-being of older people is the ability to maintain identity and independence. This is not always an easy thing, for retirement takes away the satisfaction that comes with a paid job. Many older people have to retire while still in fairly good health—yet, millions of older Americans find themselves isolated from society with few opportunities to use their skills and talents, and little motivation to explore new avenues of meaningful living. If a sense of futility is combined with a sense of loneliness, the problem of a healthy, independent, meaningful life becomes a serious one.

I want to call particular attention to that part of the President's message recommending the widespread creation of community services, and facilities that will help to meet this problem. The need for properly equipped and staffed multipurpose centers, conveniently located to the large number of older people in the large urban centers, is acute. Two million, eight hundred thousand older people live in the 21 largest cities of this country—those with populations over 500,000. Anonymity, loneliness, and the need for health and welfare services are their most common and poignant



needs. A center adequately staffed and effectively operated can provide opportunities for older people to create for themselves a satisfactory, and meaningful life through the pursuit of new and revived interests. In a center they can develop new skills. They can find intellectual, and cultural stimulation, and enrichment. They can find avenues for voluntary and civic services to their communities. They can make new friends and secure personal counseling. Here the older citizen will get that often needed information and referral to the community services which can help solve his or her individual problems of health, welfare, employment, or living arrangements.

I cannot urge too strongly quick action that will assure the building of these centers. The multipurpose senior center, with its wide range of activities and opportunities, is to me the most significant and promising new instrument for meaningful leisure activities devised so far in this century.

I was also gratified to see that the President has made recommendations aimed at including under medicare prescription drugs for a patient outside the hospital.

Earlier this month I introduced a bill that would accomplish this needed end. Thousands of our senior citizens who leave the hospital and continue to need drugs dispensed by local druggists need financial assistance in paying for them. There is no valid reason why the cost of these drugs should not be covered under medicare.

The President has directed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to undertake a comprehensive study of the program. I am confident the study will reveal that we can solve this problem by including such drugs under medicare.

It is a problem that I have long been aware of and tried to solve.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, the wage base—the maximum earnings subject to social security tax—is, as all recognize, the heart of the program. It determines the program's income, and the level of individual benefits.

The President recommends that the base be expanded to bring it in line with the economic realities of our age.

It is a sound proposal and deserves our support.

The base is now \$6,600. This figure is hardly representative—as it was originally intended to be—of the general level of income in the United States.

The President recommends expansion, in three steps, to \$10,800 by 1974.

This is necessary for three reasons:

First, it would vastly increase the number of Americans who receive old-age insurance protection on all their income, and not just a part of it as is presently the case. Right now, little more than half of all regularly employed men get social security credit for their full earnings.

Inadequate coverage means one thing: inadequate benefits. Benefits often have little relationship to the insured's past earnings and his accustomed standard of living. In these cases, social security has failed of its purpose. It has

not prevented an abrupt decline in earning power upon retirement.

Second, the increase would remove from social security the onus of a "regressive tax" paid by a poor man and rich man equally. It would make it progressive. It would restore—as originally intended under the Social Security Act—a reasonable range of benefits. Today the amount paid in and the amount received vary little from person to person.

Third, an increase would meet the cost of additional benefits. Without an increase, some other method would be necessary. Possibly it would mean an increase in the contribution rates of all workers, even the lowest paid.

Increasing the base is, to me, infinitely preferable to increasing the rate of tax, particularly since those who would pay more, because a larger part of their income was taxed, would also receive substantially greater protection.

The President's recommendation is desirable from the standpoint of financing and from the standpoint of effectiveness.

It is economically realistic, fiscally sound, and socially desirable.

I urge that this important proposal be supported.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished House minority leader correctly noted last night that, "Smog is replacing the weather as the No. 1 topic of conversation."

Unfortunately, however, his speech did little to clear the air.

As I understand it the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford] said he was more for some things, and more against other things, than the President.

He said he was more for civil rights, but he was more against the programs that would really help advance them.

He was more for the war on poverty, and more against helping to fight it.

He was very pro on not raising taxes, and even more so on not paying for the social and human needs of our age.

Now, that is perfectly clear, is it not?

Today the President is taking a positive step in recommending legislation to expand social security benefits. I support this concept and I want to join in the remarks of our distinguished majority leader, CARL ALBERT.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I think it is most fitting that the first message to come to the Congress from the President in this 90th Congress should concern our older Americans.

The inflationary trend of the past year has caused these senior citizens of our Nation more hardship than anyone else. For many of them the subsistence line is indeed a thin one. A rise in food and other living costs means tightening the belt, doing without, and sometimes acute distress.

The President has acted to meet these problems facing the elderly by proposing a fair and reasonable increase in the social security benefits. It is my hope that the Congress will act responsibly and effectively to approve these boosts in social security payments.

Nevertheless, I am deeply concerned about the far-reaching implications of the President's recommendation that an increase in special benefits be made to

900,000 persons 72 or over, who have made little or no social security contribution, and provision of special benefits for 200,000 persons 72 or over, who never before have received benefits.

While I believe that those increased and extended benefits are needed, such provisions—in addition to some innovations made in the 89th Congress—indicate that the social security program is turning away from its original insurance concept and is rapidly becoming a national social welfare program.

The idea behind social security was that a man during his lifetime could, through his labor for wages, put away in a national fund money which would return to him as a pension when he reached retirement age or was totally disabled.

Today we find more and more persons who never contributed to the social security fund reaping its benefits. The cost of including these persons is, however, still being borne by the individual wage earner. The result is that we are getting to a point where the FICA tax is becoming a burden to persons attempting to raise young families.

I am further concerned that by including many of the over-72 persons in the social security program we are only lightening the burden which the States traditionally have carried in providing welfare assistance.

At the same time, I recognize that some States do not have adequate programs to assist the indigent and that, as a result, many of our elderly poor must exist in conditions that constitute a shame for our affluent society.

My point, therefore, is this: If we are creating a national welfare program, let us be honest about it. We should abandon the idea of an insurance program which must be actuarially sound and financed by a special tax on wages. Perhaps the time has come to finance at least certain parts of social security out of general revenues. It is my hope that my colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee will give this matter careful consideration as they work on the Social Security Amendments of 1967.

In two other respects I believe that the President's proposal does not go far enough in meeting real needs of our elderly.

First, I believe that the earnings exemption of 12 percent from \$1,500 to \$1,680 is far too small. Rather, a more realistic amount would be \$2,000.

Many of my elderly constituents have told me of the financial difficulties which the current earnings limitation put on them. They have small part-time jobs which keep them busy and at the same time keep them contributing needed skills to our community life.

Yet often they are penalized for their enterprise by being denied the full amount of their social security benefit.

I further believe that the amount above earnings exemption up to which a beneficiary can retain \$1 in payments for each \$2 in earnings be increased from \$2,700 to \$3,000, instead of the \$2,880 recommended in the President's message.

My second suggestion for needed reform in social security concerns the billing of patients under medicare. The act



presently provides that a doctor may choose not to deal directly with the Government in collecting his fees under the supplemental medical benefits plan of the medicare program.

From incidents which have been brought to my attention, I know that all too often the result of this situation has been that a patient is billed directly and must take a loan or sell his property in order to pay the doctor, while awaiting reimbursement from the Government.

This situation is a real hardship for many of our elderly. It seems to me that if a doctor is willing to take medicare money indirectly, he should be willing to take it directly and thus spare his patients needless economic problems.

Further, if some provision cannot be enacted to remedy this situation, then at least there should be some arrangement made to require that all the physicians' bills be submitted together to the patient who is being billed.

In a recent case which came to my attention an elderly man received a bill from his doctor, was required to make financial adjustments, and paid it. Several weeks later he received two more bills, one from the anesthetist and one from a consultant. It required a new effort and much inconvenience for him to pay those additional bills.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as the oldest Member of this body in point of years I join with our esteemed majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] and others of my distinguished colleagues, and with all the earnestness that 84 years of living has built up in me, in applauding the President's message on older Americans. I listened to its reading with rapt attention and a moving sense that this, the 90th Congress, under the inspiring leadership of President Johnson well might go down in legislative history as the greatest Congress this or any other country ever had known in its understanding and care of the aging and the aged. The President has set the goals and upon us in the Congress will be the shame if we fail to reach them.

Mr. Speaker, there is no discrimination that carries deeper the fangs of cruelty than discrimination against age. We have permitted it to settle very early in the lives of many Americans who have been denied employment after they had reached a relatively early age. We have forced many men and women into compulsory retirement when they were of sound bodies and minds and wished to continue working. All this must be changed. Not only must we provide for the health and sustenance needs of our older countrymen but we must end for all time in this country and in this time any and all discrimination in the matter of age in the employment of Americans physically fit, mentally fit, and willing and wanting to work.

The President's message is a challenge to the best and the noblest in all his countrymen and countrywomen. I hope and pray that no time will be lost in enacting legislation along the lines of his recommendations.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson is to be highly commended

for the constructive, forward-looking message he has sent to the Congress to improve the lot of Americans 65 and over.

The elderly have all too often been a neglected segment of our society. All too many of them live on totally inadequate incomes, some 5 million below even the poverty level. All too many bear a disproportionately heavy burden of run-down housing, of discrimination in employment and of inferior recreation and rehabilitation services.

Our goal should be nothing less than a life of dignity and self-respect for all of our older Americans. To this end we surely can agree with the President's call to raise social security benefits to a level which will better meet today's needs, to improve and extend the health care available to the elderly, to attack the roots of unjust job discrimination and to renew and expand our programs to help bring fulfillment and meaning to the retirement years.

The President's recommendations are certainly not excessive. Clearly more still could be asked and done for the millions of our older people who live in difficulty and despair. But this is a practical and a timely proposal which the President has sent to Congress. I hope that it will receive the early consideration and approval which it deserves.

#### VIETNAM WEEK—APRIL 8-15

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the House to the fact that an assortment of Communists of both the Peking and Moscow varieties, fellow travelers, Marxists, radicals, pacifists, and professional "peace" agitators have launched a crash program to undermine and sabotage U.S. resistance to Communist military aggression in Vietnam.

This stepped-up agitation and propaganda campaign against United States-Vietnam policy will culminate in extensive anti-U.S. demonstrations during the week of April 8-15, which has been dubbed "Vietnam Week."

The demonstrations and actions planned for Vietnam Week will be the work of two separate movements which have the same basic objectives and are pooling their efforts.

One of these movements was completely Communist in origin. Some months ago, Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, a top Communist Party youth leader, conceived the idea of a nationwide student strike under party direction but involving masses of non-Communist youth. With party assistance, a call for a national student strike for peace was distributed nationally and a meeting was held in Chicago during the last week of December to organize the strike effort. At the Chicago meeting, however, party members assigned to the operation met with opposition to the idea a nation-

wide strike from non-Communist elements which had been invited to attend. It was therefore decided to limit the proposed strike to a number of key universities.

The other group involved in this crash program is the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam which, at an organizational meeting held in Cleveland last November, decided to stage large demonstrations against the U.S. role in Vietnam in New York City and San Francisco on April 15, 1967. The Spring Mobilization Committee includes within its ranks a handful of old-line Communist Party functionaries, radical Socialists, pacifists, and peace activists.

The student strike group, at its Chicago meeting, decided to give all possible support to the New York and San Francisco demonstrations of the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam scheduled for April 15. At the same time, it designated April 8-15 as Vietnam Week and urged students throughout the Nation to stage a variety of protest actions all during that week. It set up a committee to coordinate the student actions. It is called the Student Mobilization Committee.

The student Vietnam Week demonstrations are to be centered on the following themes:

- First, bringing the GI's home now;
- Second, opposing the draft and encouragement of draft dodging; and,
- Third, ending university cooperation with the U.S. defense effort.

Delegates at the Chicago student strike meeting also recommended that the following specific actions be taken to promote these themes: campus war crimes tribunals at which university administrators would be tried—and, of course, convicted—for assisting in Government defense research; distribution of anti-war leaflets to servicemen; support of draft dodgers; sending medical aid to the Vietcong; picketing of plants with defense contracts; sit-ins at Federal buildings and other forms of civil disobedience, and the use of mass media for the dissemination of anti-U.S. propaganda.

The records of many of the leaders of this massive effort indicate that these people are not really opposed to war as such. Today, as in the past, they have but one aim—to discredit the United States in the eyes of the world and to sabotage any effective resistance to the advance of world communism.

The people of this country, and people everywhere, should know not only what is coming during the week of April 8-15, but who is behind the actions planned and their real purpose.

I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of students in the United States will demonstrate the good sense and loyalty they have consistently demonstrated in the past and refuse to be taken in by the cynical manipulators involved in Vietnam Week.

#### UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the



House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an article by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the anniversary of Ukraine's Independence, which was January 22, when the House was not in session, but which fittingly we observe today, I think it proper that we who are dedicated to the cause of a free Ukraine should redouble our efforts quickly to bring about the creation of a Special Committee on Captive Nations.

On this day, too, as another evidence of our commitment to the cause of a free Ukraine, I suggest that we spread upon the records of the Congress the full text of a pamphlet just issued by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, of which the distinguished and esteemed Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University is the president. The pamphlet is entitled "Facts About Ukraine and the Ukrainian People," and I ask unanimous consent that my remarks be extended to include the full text of this illuminating document at this point in the RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, the cause of a free Ukraine is very close to my heart. I prize dearly the Shevchenko Freedom Award given me by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America "in the living spirit of Shevchenko for truth, justice, independence, and freedom." The Honorable Michael Hinko, narrowly defeated for Congress and now a member of my staff, is high in Ukrainian-American councils.

The pamphlet by the Ukrainian Congress of America, follows:

FACTS ABOUT UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE—ON THE OCCASION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTION, MARCH 1917—MARCH 1967

#### INTRODUCTION

The year 1967 marks the 50th anniversary of the great revolutionary upheaval in Eastern Europe. In 1917 the far-flung Russian empire met its inevitable doom, and its fall unleashed a series of national revolutions which swept the enslaved non-Russian nations and brought them long-awaited freedom and national independence. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy also crumbled under the impact of ethnic and nationalist desires for freedom and independence.

The Ukrainian National Revolution, in contrast to the Russian Revolution, was very much like the American Revolution of 1776, inasmuch as its overall objective was a free and independent state of the Ukrainian people, just as the American Revolution sought freedom for the 13 colonies which refused to live under colonial subjugation.

Today the Ukrainian people, under Soviet Russian domination, are not free and cannot enjoy the blessings of freedom and independence, because the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, contrary to its high-sounding slogans and objectives, was a fraud. Not only did it fail to bring freedom to the Russian people, but it extended its tyrannical power over Ukraine and other non-Russian nations which had adopted the principles of national self-determination and declared their independence after the fall of Russian Czarism.

Ukraine is the largest and, economically, most important of the non-Russian nations now held captive in the USSR. Consequently, a short survey of its past and present history is in order so that the true status of Ukraine should not be beclouded by the propaganda which Moscow is now disseminating throughout the world in observing what it calls the "great proletarian revolution."

#### GEOGRAPHIC POSITION—AREA AND POPULATION

Generally speaking, the Ukrainian ethnic territory extends between 43°20' and 53° north latitude and 20°30' and 45° east longitude. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic lies between 44°20' and 52°20' north latitude and 20°5' and 40°15' east longitude. Ukraine is located in the southeastern corner of Europe. It borders with Romania and Hungary to the southwest, Poland to the west, Byelorussia to the north and Russia to the north and southeast. It is bordered by the Black Sea in the south.

According to Ukrainian ethnographers (cf. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*), the Ukrainian ethnic territory embraces 289,000 square miles and has a population (1959) of 49 million. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which does not encompass all the Ukrainian ethnic territory, comprises 232,000 square miles and a population of 41,869,000, according to the Soviet population census of 1959. On January 1, 1964, Ukraine had a population of 44,600,000 people, of which number Ukrainians constituted 77 percent, Russians 17 percent, with the remaining 16 percent consisting of various national minorities: Jews (1,025,800), Poles, Germans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Romanians and Tatars.

As mentioned, over 56,600 square miles of Ukrainian ethnic territory are outside the political borders of the Ukrainian SSR, specifically: in Russia (the region of the Belgorod, Kursk, and the Voronezh Oblasts, as well as regions in the Don and Kuban areas), Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. At least 7,500,000 Ukrainians are now living outside the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory.

Religion: The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians, that is, 76 percent, are Orthodox, 13.5 percent are Catholics of the Eastern Rite, 2.3 percent are Jewish, and 8.2 percent are Protestants, Baptists, Mennonites and Moslems.

#### HISTORY

Ukraine has had three distinct periods of national statehood and independence:

a) the first period of national statehood when Ukraine, known as Kievan Rus, was a powerful state in Eastern Europe, lasting from the IXth to XIVth centuries;

b) the Kozak period of Ukrainian independence, from the middle of the XVIIth century to the end of the XVIIIth century;

c) the third (modern) period, beginning with the fall of the Russian empire and the establishment of the Ukrainian Central Rada in March, 1917, and ending in 1920.

#### THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTION

The fall of Russian Czarism was the signal for bursting enthusiasm throughout the whole of Ukraine; despite the systematic attempts of the Russian government to suppress Ukrainian ideals and aspirations, the dream of freedom and independence had survived. On March 17, 1917 the Ukrainian Central Rada was established in Kiev under the presidency of Prof. Michael Hrushevsky, Ukraine's foremost historian.

Within a period of 10 months the Rada, through a series of important acts, led Ukraine through the turbulent period, establishing first an autonomous state and then a full-fledged independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people.

Between March and October, 1917 the Rada had to deal with a weak and ineffective Russian Provisional Government under Alexander F. Kerensky who refused to accept or recog-

nize the independence of Ukraine. The Rada issued in that period its two *Universals*, one on June 23, and the second on July 16, 1917, whereby it announced that Ukraine was to become an autonomous state, which was agreed to by the Kerensky government. It swiftly organized the Ukrainian national army, established Ukrainian schools, introduced Ukrainian judicial and administrative systems, prepared a Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, provided vast autonomy for the national minorities of Ukraine and won recognition by a number of foreign states.

On November 20, 1917, after the Bolshevik coup in Petrograd, the Rada issued the Third *Universal* whereby it proclaimed Ukraine to be the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). While trying to secure recognition from the new Russian Soviet government, the Ukrainian Central Rada maintained its troops on the front against the armies of the Central Powers. Lenin and Trotsky, while paying lip-service to national self-determination, were sending Communist agitators into Ukraine in order to prepare a Communist takeover of the country. When these efforts did not bring the desired results, the Soviet government officially recognized the Ukrainian government. In a note, dated December 17, 1917, the *Sovnarkom* (Soviet of People's Commissars) stated:

"The Soviet of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic recognizes, without any limits or conditions, and in all respects, the national rights and independence of the Ukrainian Republic. . . ." (Cf. *Organ of the Provisional Government of Workers and Soldiers*, No. 26, December 20, 1917, Petrograd.)

At the same time the Russian Soviet government sent an ultimatum to the Rada, demanding, among other things, that the armed Communist bands be stationed in Ukraine. When the Rada rejected the ultimatum, Lenin and Trotsky launched armed aggression against Ukraine. For over 4 months the Ukrainian armies had to wage a defensive struggle against the Soviet Russian invaders who were thrown out of Ukraine in April, 1918.

Meanwhile, the Rada issued the Fourth *Universal* on January 22, 1918, by which the full independence and sovereignty of Ukraine was proclaimed. Subsequently, on February 9, 1918 Ukraine concluded a Peace Treaty with the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk, by which act it received full-fledged recognition from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, which powers also provided military assistance to Ukraine against the Russian Bolsheviks. France and Great Britain also granted *de facto* recognition of Ukraine.

From April to November, 1918 Ukraine was under the Monarchist government of Hetman Paul Skoropadsky, and in 1919 under the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic, headed by Simon Petliura.

On November 1, 1918 Western Ukraine, (formerly under Austria-Hungary), proclaimed its independence and was forced to wage a defensive war against the newly-born Poland which coveted this Ukrainian ethnic territory as its "own." On January 22, 1919, the Western Ukrainian National Republic, including the provinces of Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina, were united by the Act of Union with the Ukrainian National Republic into one independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people. The united Ukrainian Republic had to wage a gallant war against the Red and White Russians (Denikin) in the East and the Poles in the West, alone and unaided. In 1920 a military alliance between Poland and Ukraine was formed by Pilsudski and Petliura, and the combined Polish-Ukrainian forces occupied Kiev for a brief period. Eventually the Soviet forces succeeded in reoccupying Ukraine in the summer of 1920.

In March, 1921 the Treaty of Riga between



Communist Russia and Poland put an end to the Ukrainian National Republic.

The greater part of Ukraine, i.e., Eastern Ukraine, was made a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic under a Ukrainian Communist government; Western Ukraine (Galicia and part of Volhynia) was ceded to Poland, and Bukovina and part of Bessarabia to Romania, and Carpatho-Ukraine to Czechoslovakia, of which they were part until the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

The Ukrainian National Revolution, which brought about the rebirth of the modern Ukrainian state, engendered and developed Ukrainian nationalism and the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people. Although the true Ukrainian state has been destroyed, the Ukrainian National Revolution lives on in the hearts and minds of the Ukrainian people.

#### PRESENT STATUS

Since 1923, Ukraine proper has been a member of the Soviet Union as one of its "equal and sovereign constituent republics." In theory, Ukraine is an independent state. It became a charter member of the United Nations in San Francisco, in April, 1945, and to this day remains a member of the U.N. and maintains its permanent mission to this international body.

Internally, Ukraine is a colony of Communist Russia. The so-called Ukrainian government in Kiev is a puppet government imposed upon the Ukrainian people by the ruling Communist Party of the USSR. The Communist Party of Ukraine is also a subservient adjunct to the Russian Communist Party, and takes its orders from the latter without protest or dissension. Although Ukraine is a "sovereign republic" it has no separate army, foreign policy, its own financial economic policy. Ukraine is a colonial dependency of Communist Russia.

#### PERSECUTION AND OPPRESSION

There is no exaggeration in stating that of all the captive nations languishing in Soviet communist slavery, Ukraine has suffered the longest.

The record of Russia's inhuman treatment and persecution in Ukraine is matchless in all the history of mankind. Since 1920 Ukraine has endured persecution, mass murders amounting to full-scale genocide, religious and national persecution and economic exploitation.

In the 1930's Moscow liquidated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by murdering over 30 archbishops and bishops, headed by Metropolitan Vasyi Lypkivsky, and several thousand priests and monks. Untold numbers of Ukrainian intellectuals were liquidated, while at least 6,000,000 Ukrainian farmers perished in the manmade famine in 1932-33 for their opposition to collectivization. During the German-Soviet war, both Stalin and Khrushchev ordered executions of Ukrainian patriots, political prisoners and other Ukrainians fearing their disloyalty to the Soviet regime. How the Ukrainians regarded their Russian oppressors is demonstrated by the fact that over 2 million Ukrainian soldiers from the Soviet armies deserted to the German lines in 1941; and several thousands of them joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), a powerful Ukrainian underground resistance movement which fought against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks in Ukraine; the UPA continued its anti-Soviet resistance well into the early 1950's, during which time some 35,000 KGB and other Soviet security troops and agents were killed by the UPA. In 1946 the Kremlin wantonly destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine: of 11 Ukrainian Catholic bishops, only Metropolitan Joseph Slipyi survived (released in 1963, upon direct intervention by Pope John XXIII, he was made a cardinal and now resides in Rome); hundreds of Ukrainian Catholic priests were killed or exiled, while some 6,000,000 Ukrainians

Catholics were forcibly subordinated to Russian Orthodoxy.

Khrushchev himself stated at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party in February, 1956, that "Stalin had wanted to deport all Ukrainians, but there were too many of them and there was no place to which they could be deported."

The fate of the Ukrainian people evoked world-wide indignation, and many governments expressed their concern over the inhuman treatment of the Ukrainians by Communist Russia.

#### ASSASSINATION OF UKRAINIAN LEADERS ABROAD

One of the old and tested methods of destroying Ukrainian leaders, deemed dangerous to Russian rule in Ukraine, is the method of kidnapping and assassination of Ukrainian patriots in foreign countries by the NEVD, MVD and KGB. Over the decades the Kremlin had been doing just that:

a) In May 1926 in Paris, a Soviet agent killed Simon Petliura, head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic, and the head of the Ukrainian government-in-exile;

b) In May 1938 Col. Eugene Konavalets, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was killed in Rotterdam, Holland by a time bomb placed in his trench coat by a Soviet secret agent, Valukh (who was later identified as a general in the Soviet security troops);

c) On October 12, 1957 Dr. Lev R. Rebet, a Ukrainian nationalist writer and theoretician, was killed in Munich, although his death had been described as caused by heart failure;

d) On October 15, 1959 Stepan Bandera, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), was killed under mysterious conditions, also in Munich.

Both murders were committed by Bogdan N. Stashynsky, a trained agent of the KGB, who was subsequently given the "Order of the Red Banner" by the Soviet government. (In August, 1961 Stashynsky defected with his German-born wife to West Germany and confessed to the killing of Rebet and Bandera, for which crimes he was tried and sentenced by the German Supreme Court to eight years at hard labor.)

#### ARRESTS OF UKRAINIAN WRITERS, ASSAULT ON UKRAINIAN CULTURE

Recently, Moscow renewed with reinforced vigor its traditional policy of the Russification of Ukraine, aiming at the cultural and linguistic genocide of the Ukrainian people. Although the Ukraine language is the official language of Ukraine, the Russian language is imposed everywhere as a "language of higher culture and international significance." In 1965 and 1966 a number of Ukrainian writers, poets, and literary critics were arrested and sentenced by the Communist courts in Ukraine. At least 30 of these Ukrainian intellectuals were reported arrested, tried and sentenced in such cities of Ukraine as Kiev, Odessa, Lviv, Lutsk, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk. Among them the most prominent are Ivan Dzyuba and Ivan Svitlychny, who have been accused of writing anti-Soviet works and of smuggling to the West the anti-Soviet works of another Ukrainian poet, Vasyi Symonenko, who died in 1963 at the age of 29. Extensive reports on arrests of Ukrainian writers appeared in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (April 1, 1966) and the *New York Times* (April 7, 1966). Protest letters by the Ukrainian Writers Association in Exile were sent to the International PEN, the European Community of Writers, and UNESCO. Similar protests were sent to the State Department by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

The extent of anti-Soviet and anti-Russian opposition and resistance is best demonstrated by the fact that Peter Shelest, secretary general of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and Alexander Korneichuk, top-

ranking Communist writer and ideologist, recently warned the Ukrainian youth against listening to Western radio broadcasts and assailed the United States for its alleged support of Ukrainian "subversive nationalist elements," which they said were infiltrating Ukraine.

#### UKRAINE—A SUBMERGED AND CAPTIVE NATION

Despite the outward trappings of "independence and sovereignty" of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ukraine is a captive and submerged nation. It is recognized as such by the U.S. Congress in its "Captive Nations Week Resolution," enacted on July 17, 1959, which stated as follows:

"... The imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others. . . ."

Soviet oppressors of Ukraine are doing everything possible to give the impression to the world that Ukraine is not a captive nation, and that it, in fact, is a "sovereign and independent" state, which may secede from the USSR of its own volition.

#### UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

In the United States the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), founded in 1940, is a powerful advocate of freedom and independence for Ukraine. It is an American organization embracing over 1,200 Ukrainian American organizations, clubs, fraternal lodges, veterans and youth societies, women's and sports groups, as well as cultural, social, church and political organizations.

The overall objective of the UCCA is to support the United States democratic form of government, and to enlist the support of the United States and all other free nations of the world for the freedom and independence of Ukraine, and other captive countries. Its record for the twenty-five years of its existence is an outstanding one. For its dedicated work for the preservation of freedom at home and the establishment of liberty in Ukraine and in other captive nations, the UCCA has been lauded by four Presidents, namely: Presidents Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

The UCCA has been frequently a target of Communist assault and vituperation. For instance, *Komunist Ukrainy*, an official organ appearing in Kiev, in its February, 1966 issue, denounced the CIA, the Department of State, the FBI, a number of Ukrainian exile organizations in Europe, and the UCCA. If anything, these attacks on the Ukrainians in the free world indicate that the Russian Communist jailers of Ukraine are well aware of the corrosive effect that freedom can have on the bonds of the Ukrainians and other non-Russian nations in slavery.

#### POLITICS AT THE EXPENSE OF EDUCATION

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the University of California, and education across our country, suffered a heavy blow this last Friday when the university's regents allowed Gov. Ronald Reagan to



pressure them into firing President Clark Kerr.

It was a particularly heavy blow to the cause of educational excellence, of which Dr. Kerr was an effective advocate, because he was clearly the victim of unwarranted and unthinking political pressures.

Dr. Clark Kerr was and is one of the outstanding educators in this country. He will be sorely missed by all Californians who are concerned with the progressive development of higher education in their State. His shoes certainly will not be easily filled.

Dr. Kerr's tenure at the University of California was both long and illustrious. During his nearly 10 years as president, the university grew from two major campuses to eight, and the student population nearly doubled.

During last year's gubernatorial campaign, Mr. Reagan on a number of occasions singled out Dr. Kerr for attack. In addition, Dr. Kerr had opposed, as I do, the Governor's proposal to slash the university's budget by 30 percent.

Now, 3 weeks after the Governor's inauguration, President Kerr is gone. The conclusion that crass political pressures were the principal factor is difficult to avoid.

Governor Reagan may have scored a personal victory in achieving Dr. Kerr's dismissal, but the action is nothing less than deplorable if our real concern is the future of one of the great universities of this country and of the world.

As the New York Times pointed out in a most timely article yesterday:

By ousting Clark Kerr as president of the University of California, Governor Reagan and the Board of Regents have taken a long step toward effecting what two years of disruption by Mario Savio and his fellow-wreckers of the New Left failed to accomplish—the undermining of one of the country's most distinguished institutions of higher education.

Mr. Speaker, I am including the entire text of this editorial with my remarks because it speaks so pointedly and thoughtfully to the real issues and consequences of this distressing action.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 22, 1967]

#### TWILIGHT OF A GREAT UNIVERSITY

By ousting Clark Kerr as president of the University of California, Governor Reagan and the Board of Regents have taken a long step toward effecting what two years of disruption by Mario Savio and his fellow-wreckers of the New Left failed to accomplish—the undermining of one of the country's most distinguished institutions of higher education.

Dr. Kerr, who had been offered a Cabinet post as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shortly before the original campus revolt at Berkeley in 1964, has rejected many other attractive bids over the years because of his conviction that few problems in American society more urgently need solution than those of the "multiversity." His brilliant appraisals of the nature of these problems and the creativity he has displayed in developing new designs for learning at California's nine campuses have earned him worldwide respect.

Inevitably, the loudest dissent from the chorus of esteem has come from the ultra-conservatives and the ultraradicals united in their mindless resolve to discredit all

"liberals" as obstacles to a polarized conflict between right and left. Both extremes can now rejoice in Dr. Kerr's removal, but the impact on the university is likely to be disastrous.

Governor Reagan's announced determination to cut the budget had already brought indications from some of the most prestigious members of the faculty that they will not return next year. Now that the president has been fired, the exodus may take on landslide dimensions.

In these days of explosive educational expansion all over the country, competition for professors, instructors and graduate students of distinction is acute. The University of California, with its concentration of Nobel laureates and other eminent scholars, will be hard pressed to hold its talent, and even harder to attract new blood to its faculty.

We have no doubt that a complex range of factors entered into the thinking of the Regents in making their decision. But the interaction of guerrilla warfare by a nihilist minority of students, the beachhead established by nonstudent disrupters, the Governor's intention to economize at the expense of education and the Kerr dismissal threatens to shatter the high standing of an institution vital to the progress of the nation's largest state.

#### BILL BAGGS REPORTS—PARTS II AND III

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the second and third reports in a series of exclusive articles by Miami News Editor Bill Baggs, dateline Hanoi.

Mr. Baggs went to Vietnam as a representative of a private organization dedicated to pursuing world peace. The organization, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, was created by a Ford Foundation grant, to study and clarify problems, including war. Its method is simplification and reduction of major problems to the basic, essential conflicts. Mr. Baggs is a member of the center's board of directors.

On January 17, I was happy to insert the first article in this series which appeared on page 681 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Since then, Mr. Baggs' articles have been appearing in newspapers across the country.

In the following two articles Mr. Baggs writes with insight and candor of the effects which the war is having on Hanoi—the city and its people. He relates the day-to-day existence of a city at war with force and a clear understanding:

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, Jan. 17, 1967]

BILL BAGGS DESCRIBES HANOI, "A CITY AT WAR"

(By Bill Baggs)

(This is the second of an exclusive series of articles by Miami News Editor Bill Baggs on his journey to Hanoi. Today he writes of a city at war.)

HANOI—(Delayed).—Hanoi is a city which rises early.

Before six in the morning, the dark streets sound with tooting autos and shoes moving across the sidewalks. Bicycles glide out of

the darkness and show themselves in glimpses under the pale streetlights, and then they move on into the darkness.

The moon, cold and yellow, yet floats in the sky, lingering above the trees which form a kind of green roof over much of the city.

This is a city at war, an undeclared war against the American bombers which cause air alerts several times each week, and which have bombed the city more than once. Army lorries, the same tired green the world over, rattle and grumble along the morning street. Now and then you see a line of soldiers marching . . . not training, but moving off to some destination.

The war is evident in the toilet of your room in the Thong Nhat Hotel. The old name of the hotel was the Metropole. The new words, Vietnamese words mean, "reunification house." In the bathroom, you find single pieces of toilet paper stacked in a small box. The ceiling light on the elevator is turned off when the elevator is not in use. The mixture of French and Vietnamese cultures blends nicely, and without any grating contrast. In their 80 years of colonial rule here, the French built the formal and stately residences and government houses, the Vietnamese have pocked the city with thousands of one-man air raid "shelters." These "shelters" are simple holes in the ground, almost five feet deep, some are fancier than others . . . some are concrete pipes, about 36 inches in diameter, buried in a vertical position in the ground. They appear to be a Vietnamese invention. When the air alert sounds, you just jump into one. The Hanoi people say they are going to use the concrete pipes for sewers after the war.

As in all wars, you find propaganda nudging facts or intruding upon the cultures. At the National Museum of History, for example, the young lady explaining the long and genuine struggle of the Vietnamese since 40 A.D., against the Chinese, the Mongols, the French, the Japanese and now the Americans, concludes her narration with a speech, gingerly delivered, about the determination of North Vietnam never to be conquered by the "American aggressor." At the Museum of Art, the director, touring you through, spends much of his attention on explaining and emphasizing that the Vietnamese art and Chinese art are completely different: that Vietnam has its own peculiar culture. And from talks with others interested in art, you get the distinct and interesting impression the Vietnamese consider their dragons, common in the old art, are more delicate and refined than the Chinese dragons of the same periods.

The difference between Vietnam and China, so prominently close to Hanoi, also can be seen on the streets. Talking to a person who just returned from a tour of China, you learn that 300 million copies of the teachings of Mao Tse-tung have been published and that every family is expected to have one and read it. Enormous pictures of Mao Tse-tung glare upon visitors from the various public buildings.

Not so here. You see small pictures of Ho Chi Minh, president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, inside public buildings and often inside shops. But none on the street. A visitor in a book store was told they didn't have any of the books by Ho in English. It appeared they had no editions in French, either, and French is the second language in the city.

The only rationing in this war city is for people on welfare. The department stores usually open at 6 a.m. and close two hours later at 8 a.m. The explanation is that customers are discouraged from walking around in Hanoi during the hours when American bombers are likely to visit. But the stores are loaded with consumer goods. A respectable pair of shoes cost the equivalent of five American dollars.



The city is cold now. The temperature has been residing in the low 40s for a week, and you wear a steady chill on your bones, because there is no heat in the hotel, or anywhere, and hot water is available for only a few hours of a day.

The schools have moved out of Hanoi and, indeed, only about one-half of the normal population is left in town since the bombing started. The grammar schools are being run out in the interior, and so are most of the high schools, and the university, in various classes, has been scattered around the rural areas of Vietnam. The Vietnamese are convinced the bombings are going to continue. They are so convinced they have even dispersed their breweries around the countryside, and also their factories which manufacture the very popular cigarettes here. A visitor is impressed that he has never seen as many chain smokers as in Hanoi.

Thus the war is everywhere to be seen and heard here in Hanoi. You hear it in almost every conversation. And you see it with the green trucks and the soldiers and the bombed neighborhoods. At a concert the other evening, every song but one was a stirring patriotic rendition. The one exception played in honor of two visiting Americans, was "Get Along Little Dogie." And you have never heard "Get Along Little Dogie" until you've heard it played on a monochord.

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, Jan. 18, 1967]  
A LOOK AT HANOI BOMB DAMAGE—HOMES, CHURCH, SCHOOLS HIT

(This is the third in a series of exclusive articles by Miami News Editor Bill Baggs from Hanoi, North Vietnam. Mr. Baggs, who earlier interviewed Premier Ho Chi Minh, writes today of the air war against the North Vietnamese, the bombing of Hanoi and the controversy the campaign has raised.)

(By Bill Baggs)

HANOI—(Delayed).—The frequent complaint a visiting American in Hanoi hears, and he hears it from intellectuals and government persons and peasants and soldiers, is:

Why does the American government say its bombers only strike at steel and concrete in the air war against North Vietnam?

On the other side of the world from America you hear in the radio broadcast that the reports of the bombings by Harrison Salisbury, of The New York Times, the first American reporter who got into Hanoi, have raised doubts and even denials by some persons that the city has actually been bombed. The second American reporter to make it into Hanoi can confirm what Mr. Salisbury wrote about the bombings in this city.

#### NO EVIDENCE OF BLAST

You are told that the bombs were dropped by American planes out on a rise near the Red River, about 700 yards south of the Long Bridge. There is no question but that approximately 300 homes were destroyed by fire here. But there is no evidence of blast damage, which would seem to rule out ordinary bombs.

Perhaps fire bombs could have done this damage, or it could have been caused by a runaway air-to-ground missile. (The American missiles, if they lose communication homing in on their target become ballistic, and some could have fallen here.)

#### SCHOOL BUILDING HALVED

Or a missile fired at the American bombers by the anti-aircraft stations which ring the city could have misfired, fallen here and seared the frail old homes here by the river. It is really inconclusive to a visiting reporter.

However, at the School for Trade Unions, only two miles southwest of downtown Hanoi, and very much in the city limits, there is no question about what caused the extensive

damage. One bomb missed the buildings and clawed a crater, 30 feet across, out of the earth.

One or more bombs carved a three-story classroom building into half.

One-eighth of a mile away, other bombs removed the two top stories of a three-story dormitory.

As a reporter was examining the rubble, the air alert sounded. It was 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The loud speaker, and they are everywhere in the city to announce approaching aircraft, said American planes were 50 kilometers from Hanoi.

#### RUMBLE IN THE DISTANCE

In minutes, the loudspeaker was sounding again. The planes were 40 kilometers from the city.

Quang Tu, a student at the school, looked nervous, and he seemed entirely willing to conclude the conversation with the American reporter and break for a shelter. Quang Tu and a friend, Tran Huu Minh, had some right to twitch. They had been here when the bombers came on the afternoon of Dec. 14. At 3:30, the air clear sounded. The planes had been headed for another target. A few minutes later, a rumble in the distance was heard. The bombs fell several miles west of the city.

Bombs also landed on Nguyen Thiep Street, only one-half mile, northeast, from downtown Hanoi, and said to be the most populous neighborhood in the city. Here, by count, at least 52 homes had been destroyed. These were old homes, some pathetic hovels, built shoulder to shoulder, and with alleys providing access to the street. The roof of the neighborhood pagoda was missing.

There was no military target visible in the vicinity. The only possible target nearby was a rail line leading to the seaport of Haiphong. No roundhouse. Just a single rail line. Several people, it was told, were killed on Nguyen Thiep Street, on Dec. 18 when the bombs fell here.

Late in the afternoon, the reporter followed information that a general school, five kilometers south of Hanoi, twice had been bombed. This was the Viet Ba School, grades from one to 10 and it assuredly had been bombed. Eight large bomb craters were counted around the school. One of the two large buildings had been smashed into half. The rubble was not two feet high. The other large building had no roof and no windows. Smaller buildings were damaged to various degrees.

This school is situated pretty much by itself out in the country. It is at least one-half mile away from the highway and the rail.

Not a mile away, a few farm houses and a church were obviously bombed and mostly destroyed.

The bombing of the school was strange. A mile away, across the highway, was a large park for trucks, which might be considered a military target. And not a mile away, up the road, was an enormous supply of large construction pipe on the ground. Neither the truck park nor the construction pipe had been touched, but this school had been bombed out of business. So, the natives here complain:

The American Government tells its people and tells the world that it only bombs steel and concrete. And then they show you the bombed schools and churches, and ask you to explain that.

No answer is going to convince these people. You tell them that mistakes are made in war, that the announced policy of the American Government is to only bomb military targets, but that mistakes are inevitable companions to war.

How large can mistakes get asked one Vietnamese. The entire little city of Phuly was destroyed. The whole town demolished.

And, he said, the only industry in town was a handicraft factory. And he was right. Phuly was destroyed. So, the people around here are not moved when you suggest war error. They only know that soldiers and war production were not present on Nguyen Thiep Street or here out in the country at the Viet Ba School.

#### FLOOD INSURANCE PROGRAM

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I am today cosponsoring legislation to establish a program of flood insurance under Federal auspices.

The program is designed to provide full insurance coverage at reasonable rates to those who live in areas which are more frequently subjected to flood disasters and hurricanes than other areas of the country.

My bill, unlike other similar proposals, would provide insurance to cover not only individual dwellings but all types of businesses including motels and hotels.

In my bill, the term "flood" includes any flood, tidal wave, wave wash, or other abnormally high water, or the water component of any hurricane, or other severe storms, or any surface landslide resulting from excessive moisture. It does not include protection against tornadoes, earthquakes, or other forms of natural disasters.

In 1936, Congress inaugurated a program of flood control utilizing the varying means available to engineering science at that time. Many lives have been saved, property losses reduced, and other losses, social and economic, mitigated by the outstanding accomplishments of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers who have had the responsibility of expediting this early program.

This program has been supplemented and complemented by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's watershed protection and flood prevention, so-called Public Law 556, program. This has also contributed markedly to the safety of persons and the protection of property as well as the conservation of soil and water resources.

However, it is evident that all floods cannot be controlled. At any time a flash flood may occur, wiping out entire communities—industries, homes, and lives. Engineers admit, as competent as they may be, that they cannot provide complete protection for every flood. No manmade structure can be designed to fully withstand severe storms.

Dams, levees, channel rectification and other means now being utilized are helpful but are not totally protective. Conceding that damage will invariably occur, we must prepare for the aftermath. Can we leave the flood victims to their own defenses?

The help provided by the Red Cross, the immediate needs for food, shelter, medication, and physical care now avail-



able from government, plus some small amount of financial assistance under present law are not enough. Charity is never sufficient nor desirable.

Here we have a better plan. Let the private enterprise insurance industry help people to help themselves, with financial assistance provided by the Federal Government in the early stages. And at the same time, direct the Federal Government, in cooperation with public and private officials to institute a system of flood plain zoning in an attempt to lessen the devastating effect of floods by preventive means.

We propose for your consideration a bill which would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to provide a nationwide program of flood insurance to be carried out in cooperation with private insurance companies. This program would involve establishing premium rates and providing financial assistance to subscribers and to insurance companies. The bill also directs the Secretary to use the facilities and services of private organizations and persons authorized to engage in the insurance business under the laws of any State and to arrange for payment of reasonable compensation to those businesses.

The Secretary at the same time would, in cooperation with State and local planning bodies, develop long-range plans for land use directed toward lessening the incidence of flood damage.

The Secretary of the Army is directed to identify flood plain areas and establish flood risk zones, estimating rates of probable flood losses for each. This will permit more accurate premium setting and reveal alternate means of reducing flood damages.

The Disaster Relief Act of 1966 was a step in the right direction. The bill I am introducing constitutes the next logical step. The study authorized in the 1966 act has been completed and its findings and recommendations are the basis for this proposal.

In recent years, hurricanes such as Donna and Betsy have caused severe damage in the Florida Keys and other coastal areas throughout the Southeast. As a result of the extent of the destruction, numerous insurance policies were canceled by companies who were unable to continue offering insurance at reasonable rates in high risk areas. It is to insure against a possible recurrence of such a predicament, that I am introducing this legislation and asking for the support of all.

#### THE VIETNAM PROBLEM

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an address by the Honorable JAMES KEE.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, those of us who are convinced that the vital interests of the United States require our

continued presence in Vietnam are frequently called on to explain and justify our course to our constituents.

Our very able colleague from West Virginia, the Honorable JAMES KEE, is offering a peculiarly lucid, though brief, exposition to the people of his district, employing a radio address to do it. This address seems to me illuminating and forceful enough to justify offering to a wider audience than he anticipates presently, and I therefore request that it be printed in the RECORD. I believe many of us will find it useful in a similar situation.

#### HOW HARRY TRUMAN MET THE COMMUNIST THREAT

This is Jim Kee bringing you the Kee Report. The use of American military forces in South Viet Nam has provoked the most violent domestic dissension of the Nineteen Sixties. The bitterness of this controversy has obscured the reason for our being in Viet Nam and aroused misgivings in the minds of some of our most respected citizens.

And this quarrel may do something worse. It threatens to undermine the policy of containing aggressive Communism which this country adopted shortly after World War II and which since has preserved the freedom of the entire world.

In this newscast, I'd like to review with you the Vietnam problem in the perspective of history. The problem which President Lyndon Johnson faces today is the same problem which Harry Truman faced, the same problem which Dwight Eisenhower faced, and the same problem which the late John F. Kennedy faced. Each one of these men in turn decided that it was his duty to take positive action to contain the menace of aggressive Communism.

Of course, these four men could have decided otherwise. They could have done nothing and told the rest of the free world to look out for itself. But if they had taken that course, the United States would find itself today facing the most ruthless tyranny in history without a single ally.

The guns of World War II were hardly silenced before Communist Russia started a naked aggression to take over Greece and Turkey. President Truman at once offered military aid to those two countries and the Kremlin backed down. Later the Truman Administration faced an even greater threat—a Communist attempt to seize the whole of Europe. Our country met that threat by rebuilding Europe with the Marshall Plan and uniting our defenses in the Atlantic Alliance. This action saved Europe. If Mr. Truman had kept hands off, today Germany, France, Italy and the Low Countries would be Communist nations.

The next aggression came in the brutal Communist assault on South Korea. This was officially a United Nations war but it was won by American manpower and American money. This action saved the United Nations from extinction. And it did more than that. Korea was only a stepping stone for the Communists on the road to Japan. If they had taken Japan, the whole of Asia would have been lost.

President Eisenhower was compelled to use American arms to prevent a Communist take-over of Lebanon in the Near East and a Communist take-over of Formosa. The late President Kennedy was compelled to face two of the most brutal challenges in American history. When he first assumed office, the Russians threatened to take over Berlin by force until he warned them off. You recall the second challenge when the Chief Executive told the Kremlin to remove its long-range missiles from Cuba where they had been placed for the sole purpose of intimidating the United States.

Suppose Harry Truman had backed down in the face of Communist threats and after him General Eisenhower and the late President Kennedy? The United States today would be an island surrounded by a Communist Europe, a Communist Asia and a Communist South America.

Much as he hates war, President Johnson is carrying out the policy of his predecessors in Viet Nam. There is no other way to stop Communism.

Thank you.

#### LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION LAW IN JEOPARDY

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the President, on September 3, 1964, signed into law the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965, which became effective on January 1, 1965. I was delighted to have been a cosponsor of this historical piece of legislation.

The purposes of the land and water conservation fund are to assist in preserving, developing, and assuring to all citizens of the United States and visitors within our boundaries, the quality and quantity of outdoor recreation resources necessary and desirable to strengthen the health and vitality of the citizens of the United States. To do this, the act, first, provides funds and authorizes Federal assistance to the States in planning, acquiring, and developing needed land and water areas and facilities; second, provides funds for the acquisition of land by the National Park Service; and third, offsets, in part, the capital costs of future Federal reservoir projects which are allocated to public recreation and the enhancement of fish and wildlife values.

Today, Mr. Speaker, this law is in jeopardy, not because of the act itself, but it is being jeopardized by the escalation of land prices, land speculation, and other practices following public knowledge of Federal, State, and local interest in certain areas for outdoor recreation purposes.

The revenues accruing to the fund have been considerably less than originally estimated upon passage of the act. It had been anticipated that revenues accruing to the fund would permit acquisition of areas as facilities within reasonable limits of purchase estimates at the time of authorization of any proposal by the Federal Government, and making funds available immediately for State and local acquisition. The experience in implementing the land and water conservation fund has proven otherwise.

During the 89th Congress there were many authorizations requiring Federal acquisition of lands. Passage of these measures anticipated that acquisitions would be made from the land and water conservation fund. The issue now becomes one of urgency and concern as to the adequacy of the land and water conservation fund to meet the financial ob-



ligations expected to be imposed upon it now and in the decade ahead.

Mr. Speaker, the escalation of land prices, land speculation, and other practices in areas of public interest for outdoor recreation resources is fast approaching a position of national scandal. It is most important that something be done here in this 90th Congress to resolve this enigma.

Mr. Speaker, I introduce today, a bill which, in my opinion, will provide additional sources of revenue for the land and water conservation fund. The purpose of this legislation is to deposit in the land and water conservation fund all revenues from July 1, 1967, received under the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920, as amended; the Potash Leasing Act of 1927 and 1948, as amended; and the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act of 1953, as amended, to the extent such revenues would otherwise be deposited in miscellaneous receipts of the U.S. Treasury.

If enacted, this legislation would provide the needed funds to permit the Secretary of the Interior, the States, and local governments, to proceed with the acquisition of lands already authorized to be acquired for outdoor recreation purposes.

It has been the opinion of many that the lack of funds to permit immediate acquisition of such areas has resulted in the escalation of land values and other practices detrimental to our national program to assist the States and Federal agencies in meeting the present and future outdoor recreation needs and demands of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, we have already established a national program and policy. The question now becomes whether or not we should abandon this program and policy? I, for one, think not, and I shall persevere with all my abilities to see that this program for our citizens is continued and expanded as the need to do so arises. However, let every Member of this 90th Congress understand that there is no purpose or need to establish new Federal projects unless there are funds available to finance the acquisition thereof. The continual authorization of Federal projects without adequate funds to acquire and support the same is establishing a national program full of sound and fury—but signifying something. This, Mr. Speaker, would be a prelude to a national scandal—one for which I do not wish to be answerable.

The passage of the bill I have introduced today will make the glowing terms applied to the 88th and 89th Congress as "conservation Congresses" come true. The basic legislation is on the books now—the implementation is only a matter of commonsense.

#### PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the 90th Congress has an opportunity to do a great deal to make itself a more effective and efficient body. I have introduced two resolutions which, if adopted, would make Congress more responsible and responsive to the people and more reflective of the interests and desires of the Members of Congress.

The first resolution I introduced calls for increased minority staffing on congressional committees. This reform is badly needed. It is long overdue. Some progress in this area has been made and the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress report indicates that more progress will be made and much more is needed.

The second resolution deals with the seniority system. It is regrettable that the Joint Committee on the Organization did not see fit to address itself to needed reform in this area.

Today I have introduced another resolution aimed at improving the work of Congress. The resolution calls for the creation of a select committee to study the area of congressional committee staffing. It calls upon the select committee to do three important things.

First, the select committee is asked to conduct surveys and studies of all committee positions.

Second, the select committee is asked to ascertain the duties, responsibilities, and qualification requirements of these positions.

Third, and most important, the committee is asked to prepare a job description for each of the positions.

If such a study of committee staffing was done, then the Congress would be in a position to determine what can be done to strengthen the present system of staffing committees and also how we can obtain job security for those persons employed by congressional committees.

At this time all committee staff members serve at the pleasure of the majority on the committee. I am pleased that the bill introduced by Congressman MADDEN and by Congressman CURTIS includes a provision to give the minority at least two professional clerks on each committee. But more must be done. Valued and experienced clerical help should not be lost simply because a committee gets a new chairman or because a party loses control of Congress. There are many positions on the staffs of congressional committees which should have job security. Once we can clearly identify the types of positions and classify them accordingly, we can write job descriptions, hire qualified people on the basis of the job descriptions and give them some job security. Then we will in the future be in a position to hire the very best and to keep them.

I have introduced this resolution because I feel that we need to improve the present methods used to staff congressional committees. As I read the reports of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, I do not find any reference to this important area.

I urge that the committee of the House to which this resolution is delegated for consideration promptly begin hearings on the resolution and favorably report it to the House for its consideration.

#### POLITICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I do not like to disagree with my colleague from California [Mr. COHELAN] in regard to the situation at the University of California. I was very much surprised to find and read that ex-President Kerr of the university said he had brought freedom to the campus and that he objected to politics being played on the campus. Freedom was not brought to the campus but rather minority license. Ex-President Kerr has played politics all the way through. During the recent campaign, the campus was a hotbed of activity in behalf of Governor Brown. So far as politics are concerned, I know of no one who can speak more knowingly on the subject than ex-President Kerr.

Also the question of the situation at the University of California was before the people in the last election and was thoroughly debated especially by Ronald Reagan and Governor Brown and the people spoke very decidedly on that question when they elected Ronald Reagan by a million votes over Governor Brown.

So I do not believe that there is any question but what the people of California are very much delighted that the University of California may now proceed without having strikes, turmoil, and riots continually on the campus of that great university.

The University of California has become a synonym for an undisciplined faculty and student body. One of the prime functions of a teacher is to maintain discipline in his classrooms, and certainly it is the function of a president of a great university to maintain at least a semblance of discipline in the university which he heads. Riots, strikes, sit-ins, and demonstrations have been the order of the day for several years on the campus, and the taxpayers have waited in vain for Dr. Kerr to speak out against such riotous acts—and take constructive, positive action as was done at Stanford, the University of Maryland, and many other colleges and universities.

The action of the regents was not something new, for under Governor Brown it was understood that Dr. Kerr was hanging on to his position by a one vote margin in that body. The mistake was made when he offered to resign, some time ago, and the board of regents did not accept it.

The University of California is far more important than any individual, and it will be a better tax-supported institution as a result of the regents' recent action.

#### MEMBERSHIP OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE PRODUCTION

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the



chairman of the Joint Committee on Defense Production:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,  
Washington, D.C., January 20, 1967.  
Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK,  
The Speaker,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: As you know, pursuant to Section 712(a)(2) of the Defense Production Act of 1950 (Title 50, Appendix, United States Code, Section 2162(a)(2)), it is the duty of the Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency to suggest five members of the Committee to be members of the Joint Committee on Defense Production.

I sincerely hope that the following members meet with your approval: Wright Patman, Abraham J. Multer, William A. Barrett, William B. Widnall, Paul A. Fino.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,  
Sincerely,

WRIGHT PATMAN,  
Chairman.

The Clerk notified the Senate thereof.

#### MEMBERSHIP OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 376) fixing the representation of the majority and minority membership of the Joint Economic Committee.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 376

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 5(a) of the Employment Act of 1946 (15 U.S.C. 1024(a)) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) There is established a Joint Economic Committee, to be composed of ten Members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and ten Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. In each case, the majority party shall be represented by six Members and the minority party shall be represented by four Members.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, this bill passed the Senate by a unanimous vote.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### THE STATE OF THE UNION—A REPUBLICAN APPRAISAL

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include a statement by the minority leader, GERALD R. FORD, on the state of the Union.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, in my capacity as House Republican whip it is my privilege to be a part of the Republican leadership of the Congress, by which we Republicans of both the House

and Senate coordinate our legislative efforts for the advancement of our party policy and principles.

Last Thursday evening, January 19, our distinguished minority leaders, Representative GERALD R. FORD, of Michigan, and Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, of Illinois, presented to the American people our Republican appraisal of the state of the Union.

In a forthright manner our two leaders in Congress presented an evaluation of our country's posture, foreign and domestic, the direction in which we are now headed, and what we Republicans specifically propose in meeting the grave problems confronting us, so that we may have a sorely needed "new direction."

In our Republican appraisal Senate Minority Leader DIRKSEN discussed our critical foreign policy, and House Minority Leader FORD our country's equally critically domestic policies. More importantly, in behalf of all Republicans, Mr. GERALD R. FORD set forth in specific terms a realistic constructive program for solving many domestic problems.

As an appraisal of the present and a program that looks to the future, I commend a most careful reading of Minority Leader FORD's brilliant remarks. They follow:

#### THE STATE OF THE UNION—A REPUBLICAN APPRAISAL

(Address of Representative Gerald R. Ford, Republican, of Michigan, minority leader of the House of Representatives)

Again we gather in this historic chamber, conscious of the invisible presence of great leaders of the past. This year we are reinforced by the visible presence of new leaders of the future. We welcome enthusiastically the 64 new Republican Senators and Representatives of the 90th Congress.

Senator Dirksen and I are here to give a Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union.

November 8, the citizens of America voted on the State of the Union.

Their message came through loud and clear—a ringing vote for vigorous two-party government. It was a blunt demand for honesty and candor in public affairs. The Credibility Gap must go!

We rejoice in the mandate—a *New Direction* for America.

No era in our history began with higher hopes than the 1960's. We had bound up the Nation's wounds. We were blessed with eight years of strength, peace and progress under President Eisenhower.

As the decade dawned, all Americans were stirred by the words, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

The years have slipped by and now Americans in 1967 see the decade that dawned in hope fading into frustration and failure, bafflement and boredom.

The President said that the election returns did not mean that people want progress to stop.

We agree.

They want progress to start—now!

For every problem of the Sixties, this Administration has revived tired theories of the Thirties.

For the past two years, positive and practical Republican programs have been largely ignored.

Things will be different in the next two years!

We won the first round in the House of Representatives, 364 to 64, with three-quarters of the Democrats following our unanimous Republican lead.

We will win more—many more!

#### NEW DIRECTION, NOT COALITION

Cynics may call every Republican victory in this Congress a coalition. Let's meet that issue head-on, right now.

By definition, coalition requires advance consultation and ultimate compromise of conviction to win a legislative victory.

Republicans will make no such deals.

Republicans will give leadership to the dynamic and Constructive Center in Congress.

We welcome every Democratic vote for positive Republican programs that will give New Direction to our Nation.

We will press for creative Republican action. When New Direction demands it, we will say "No" to the old Democratic failures.

Our "No" will be particularly emphatic if we are asked to slow down progress toward the equality that is the right of every American.

Never forget, the Republican Party came into being to make real the belief that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. It is disheartening to see evidence that the Administration is lowering the priority given to these matters in the 90th Congress.

#### SENSIBLE SOLUTIONS FOR THE SEVENTIES

As we look to the years ahead, Republicans see a program of Sensible Solutions for the Seventies.

That program must begin in 1967.

First priority—the growth and prosperity of our economy.

There are ominous signs of an economic slowdown this year. Unless our course is redirected decisively, we may well face the paradox of a recession with both increased inflation and increased taxation.

The Investment Tax Credit must be restored immediately.

An honest federal budget is imperative. If the Congress is to assess the needs of our economy intelligently, the Administration must not repeat its tragic error of presenting a budget of evasion, manipulation and gimmickry. This budget underestimated expenditures by at least \$14 billion, over \$4 billion of which was non-military.

Congress should immediately repeal the Participation Sales Act, which conceals and distorts the true budgetary situation.

When we know how much is needed for national security, the Congress can then make certain that essential domestic programs are adequately funded. Low-priority programs, desirable as they may be, must be postponed. Republicans will move to cut non-essential spending—even if the President doesn't.

Billions of dollars approved by Congress in the past remain unspent. This Congress must take a hard look at those funds. We propose a Rescission Bill, withdrawing the President's authority to obligate and spend such funds that cannot meet the test of economy of the new Congress.

The President belatedly promised to cut \$3 billion from expenditures by the end of June. He should spell out for the American people where these reductions have been made—if they have been made.

With such uncertainties, the President has not made a convincing case for his tax increase.

#### STATE AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITIES—TAX SHARING

One of the most significant results of the 1966 elections was the people's choice of 23 new Republican governors, and more than 700 new state legislators.

This reflects not only confidence in our party and its fine candidates but also faith in state government itself.

Republicans have faith in the constitutional concept of Federalism, which requires strong and vigorous state as well as national action on a variety of problems. Yet, seen through the Democrats' rear-view mirror of



the Thirties, everything can be cured by Federal dictation and Federal funds, doled out through grants-in-aid which keep Washington as the manipulator of all strings.

There are now over 400 Federal aid appropriations for 170 separate aid programs, administered by a total of 21 Federal Departments and agencies, 150 Washington bureaus and 400 regional offices, each with its own way of passing out Federal tax dollars.

Federal aid to states and municipalities through this tangled thicket increased from \$1 billion in 1946 to about \$15 billion this year.

Republicans reiterate their support for a system of tax sharing to return to the states and local governments a fixed percentage of personal income taxes without Federal control. This system would promote a swift improvement in education, law enforcement, community development, mass transit, and other essentially local problems.

Smog is replacing the weather as the No. 1 topic of conversation, but no two cities have identical problems. Cities are far more diversified than states. They have one common denominator—their problems multiply as people move to the suburbs. This exodus leaves less revenue to meet more problems.

Tax sharing would restore the needed vitality and diversity to our Federal system. Revenue sharing could also be accomplished with tax credits.

Many effective measures to improve agriculture originated with the National Commission on Rural Life, established by President Theodore Roosevelt. Republicans propose a National Committee on Urban Living be created without delay.

An exaggerated example of urban problems is our own national capital. Yet a swarm of Federal experts is telling the cities how to cure their ills while the only Federal city in our Nation is a disgrace.

Republicans believe Washington, D.C., should be made a "model city" for demonstration projects and new initiatives in urban progress.

#### EDUCATION

Higher education and vocational education acts bear strong Republican imprints.

We will continue our efforts to provide assistance to those who bear the rising cost of higher education through tax credits.

The Elementary and Secondary Act, however, at minimum requires substantial revision to simplify forms, reduce excessive paperwork and eliminate the heavy-handed Federal intrusions. All pre-school and early-school problems should be consolidated in the Office of Education. Republicans trust local school boards to formulate policy and set priorities far more than we trust bureaucrats in Washington.

Congress should take the Federal hand-cuffs off our local educators. The best way to do this is by tax sharing and tax credits. If the Democrats, who control Congress, refuse to consider tax sharing legislation, Republicans will seek to substitute block education grants, without Federal earmarking or controls.

We will propose new approaches to reinforce the vitality and diversity that is the genius of our educational system. It is in the school that the doors of opportunity open to all American children. We shall not deny them the best that can be given.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The President proposed Social Security changes that it is estimated would cost the equivalent of a 1.6 percent Social Security payroll tax increase.

At the present tax base, this would ultimately raise the total Social Security payroll tax to more than 12 percent. The Social Security trust fund must be kept sound. Greater benefits normally involve greater taxes, particularly burdensome to our younger citizens.

As in the past, Republicans now favor an

increase in permitted earnings by Social Security recipients. Present earning limitations reflect the depression mentality of the Thirties and make no sense for the Seventies. Widows benefits and minimum benefits must be brought into line with today's inflated living costs. Those still uncovered should, as soon as possible, be blanketed into the Social Security system at least by age 72.

Our older citizens must be protected from the extortions of Great Society inflation. They can't wait while we debate.

Congress should enact, retroactive to January 1, an 8 percent increase in Social Security benefits. These increased benefits can be achieved without any tax increase.

About 1/3 of the nation's poor are elderly citizens. Their situation is tragic and desperate. The Poverty War has passed them by.

In the past two years of Democratic control, basic Social Security benefits have fallen 7 percentage points behind the consumer price index.

Republicans propose Social Security benefits rise automatically with rising prices. It is time we took Social Security out of election-year politics.

#### VETERANS

Republicans believe those called upon to sacrifice in Southeast Asia should be treated equally with other veterans. All veterans, war widows and their dependents should be protected from skyrocketing inflation by increased benefits.

#### POVERTY

The greatest poverty in this country today is the poverty of realistic ideas among Poverty War generals—and sergeants. Sensible Republican proposals have been rejected arbitrarily.

Republicans will continue to press for total revamping and redirection of the Poverty War. We want an Opportunity Crusade that will enlist private enterprise and the states as effective partners of the Federal Government in this fight. We would give the children of poverty the very highest priority they deserve. As Republicans have urged for two years, Head Start requires follow-through in the early grades.

We propose a new Industry Youth Corps to provide private, productive employment and training on the job.

We propose the Republican Human Investment Act to induce employers to expand job opportunities for the unskilled.

We propose to enlarge the opportunities of low-income Americans for private home ownership.

All Americans demand a thorough airing of poverty administration, poverty publicity and poverty politics.

#### GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

The need for streamlining the national government has become even more urgent since we recommended a new Hoover-type commission a year ago. The President's only specific proposal for reorganization—to combine the Departments of Labor and Commerce—merely scratches the surface.

We believe the Post Office Department should be taken out of politics from top to bottom. Republicans favor selecting all Postmasters on merit alone.

What irony—we will probably deliver a man to the Moon before we can properly deliver the United States Mail to its correct address on Earth.

The colossal Department of Agriculture is another executive agency that needs reform. Republicans will continue to support the concept of fair farm prices in the market place, without price-depressing manipulation by bureaucrats. The mass and maze of federal farm laws, rules, regulations and forms must be simplified. Every farmer knows there's enough to do in every 24-hour day on the farm without a load of federal paperwork.

We applaud efforts to create more parks

and seashores and will give special emphasis to the preservation of jobs and community stability.

#### LABOR-MANAGEMENT LAWS

A year ago the President promised Congress he would soon propose new ways to handle national emergency strikes. Even though 1967 looms as a year of labor-management strife, he has made no proposals whatsoever. Incredibly, he never mentioned it in his latest State of the Union Message.

Without waiting further, Congress should choose a balanced commission of experts to make recommendations in this complex and sensitive area.

Our unswerving purpose should be to strengthen free collective bargaining between equals, without unnecessary government meddling. Congress should undertake, without delay, a full review of labor-management laws and the operations of the National Labor Relations Board.

It is unfair to both labor and management for Congress to legislate blindly in an atmosphere of crisis.

#### CONGRESSIONAL, CAMPAIGN, AND ELECTION REFORMS

To do our job better, Congress should act promptly on the bipartisan recommendations for congressional reorganization endorsed last session by our House Republican Policy Committee, but pigeon-holed by the Democratic majority.

We call for a strong House Ethics Committee and an investigating committee under the control of the minority.

Such reforms would restore the people's confidence in Congress and their Government.

Congress should rescue the President's year-old pledge for a Clean Elections Law. Such a law must be on the books before 1968.

This Clean Elections Law should guarantee full and accurate reporting of political contributions and expenditures in support of national candidates and put an end to abuses in campaign finance. Legislation also is needed to encourage an increased flow of small contributions. Republicans are proud that 69 percent of our contributions in the last Presidential campaign were in sums of less than \$100.

Last year the Congress unwisely rushed through a bill which would provide as much as 60 million taxpayers' dollars to political parties for the 1968 campaign. This serious mistake should be reversed without delay.

Instead, the Congress would be wise to permit contributors an income tax deduction for political contributions up to \$100.

Our antiquated Electoral College System of choosing the President should be changed to make sure the people's will prevails.

In planning for the 1968 Presidential campaign and elections, the Congress must come to grips with the foremost factor in political competition today—a factor unknown when present laws were written—television.

The biggest single campaign expense for any national candidate today is television time. Television brings the national political debate into every American home. Yet no really thorough study has been made of the public's interest in television as a political medium. Television channels, of necessity limited in number, really belong to all the people.

They should not be at the service of the highest bidder or the party in power. They cannot be regulated solely by the conscience or convictions of network executives and their most popular television faces.

An illogical federal law now operates to prevent television and radio stations from granting time without charge to major party candidates without making equal time available to a host of minor party candidates. We unequivocally favor nationally televised debates between future Presidential contenders.

We propose legislation requiring television



and radio to provide free and equal treatment to major parties and their spokesmen not only in future campaigns, but also for the presentation of divergent political views throughout the periods between formal campaigning.

#### CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Crime and violence, disregard of law and disrespect for authority, immorality and irresponsibility are on the rise. We welcome the President's recent recognition of this enlarging crisis.

Republicans in the last Congress authored legislation which created a National Commission for the Revision and Reform of Criminal Laws, a major step forward.

The House also adopted last year, although it died in the Senate, a proposal which Republicans will renew this session in a "Citizens Rights Act of 1967." The Act would make it a crime to travel from one state to another with an intent to incite riots. It would also protect individuals in the exercise of their constitutional rights.

Wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping worry all Americans who prize their privacy. Properly used, these are essential weapons to those who guard our Nation's security and wage ceaseless war against organized crime.

The Congress, the President and the Courts must promptly spell out the permissible limits of their use.

At all levels of government a massive effort should be made to reduce crime by attacking some of its basic causes: poverty, slums, inadequate education and discrimination. However, our laws and actions should never be based on the theory that a criminal is solely the product of his environment.

Fear of punishment remains an important deterrent to crime.

We call upon the independent Judicial Branch of our Government to uphold the rights of the law-abiding citizen with the same fervor as it upholds the rights of the accused.

Most Americans will resist any trend toward the establishment of a national police force or the unwarranted intrusion of Federal power into local law enforcement. Yet, there is a proper place for Federal assistance and leadership.

Within the Federal correctional system, the Work Release Program and other enlightened prisoner rehabilitation projects must be designed and expanded to reduce the number of second-time offenders.

The primary responsibility for law enforcement must remain with the states and local authorities. In the last analysis, public safety depends upon the courage and character of the policeman patrolling his beat. The Federal Government can properly help in making law enforcement a more attractive and professional career.

A National Law Enforcement Institute, similar to the successful National Institutes of Health, should be established for research and training and for the dissemination of the latest techniques in police science.

#### NATIONAL SECURITY

Not as Republicans but as Americans we are gravely worried about the Nation's security. This is not a partisan issue. The conflict is primarily between the Administration and the Congress.

The short-range military policies and the long-range defense posture of this country urgently demand searching re-examination and New Direction. Nothing in the President's State of the Union Message lessened our deep concern in this all-important area.

Our strategic thinking of the 1970's and beyond, the timely planning and production of advanced weapons systems, and the prudent management of our total national defense capabilities have become stalled on a dead-end street.

Republicans renew, with even greater urgency, our call for Congress to name a Blue Ribbon Commission of the most able and

independent Americans to get on with this job.

Within its Constitutional responsibility, Congress can do more.

We must take prompt action to modernize our Navy, increase our superiority in nuclear propulsion, and counter the growing threat of missile-carrying enemy submarines.

We must take prompt steps to rebuild the American Merchant Marine, already shrunken to one fifth its former size, and regain our lost lead over the Soviet Union in modern shipbuilding. Shockingly, the U.S. is no longer a major maritime power. The Maritime Administration must be upgraded as an independent agency.

We must proceed at top speed with the development of long-delayed Advanced Manned Strategic Bombers and Improved Manned Interceptors.

We must strengthen our Reserve and National Guard forces and eliminate inequities in the Draft. Our defense posture should be tailored to our global commitments.

The Administration has finally admitted to the American people that the Soviet Union has increased its Intercontinental Ballistic Missile capability and is deploying an Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense System. In anticipation of a life-and-death decision on just such a development, Congress has voted millions of dollars which the Administration did not seek and apparently has not used.

The Congress did its duty and gave the President a clear expression of its will and the means to carry it out.

Before more precious time is lost, Congress and the American people are now entitled to a clear explanation from the President of the perils and problems facing the United States in the new global balance of strategic power.

We, too, seek to avoid a costly new round in the nuclear arms race. But the least the Nation must do now is speed up its readiness to deploy Anti-Ballistic Missiles in a hurry if our survival requires it.

Americans are properly devoted to the concept of civilian control in defense matters. This civilian control never before has meant consistent civilian disregard for professional military judgment, intimidation of dissenters and substitution of soulless computers for human experience.

The first place to close the Credibility Gap is at the Pentagon.

All Americans join in the President's earnest hopes for an honorable peace and foolproof disarmament. But they are deeply concerned that the Communists even now are intensifying both the hot and cold wars. We must prevail in this worldwide test of willpower and weaponry.

Nothing has higher priority, in our judgment, than the safety, strength and survival of the United States of America, our people and our posterity.

There will be no Sensible Solutions for the Seventies, no Republicans or Democrats, if we fall in this supreme test of a nation.

To our President, we of the Loyal Opposition say—in the words of another anguished Commander-in-Chief: "With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

#### GOVERNOR REAGAN INTRODUCES POLITICS IN ADMINISTERING THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

<sup>1</sup> Abraham Lincoln, 2nd Inaugural Address.

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I want to address myself also to the recent action out in the State of California involving the firing of the president of the University of California, Clark Kerr. I address myself to that fact not only as a California Congressman but as a graduate of that university and as a Representative of a district that is immediately adjacent to the university campus.

I think I share the view and the concern of a great many of the citizens of the State of California with regard to the precipitous action that was taken there; not that we, or I, stand particularly in defense of President Kerr or his policies in administering the university, although, let it be clear I personally support him and have done so while I served in the California Legislature and have done so as an alumnus of that university, but the thing which concerns me and I believe, concerns many of my fellow Californians, is the political implication that the action taken in firing the president presents to the people. This was done with an unbelievable lack of grace and with arrogance and cruelty and indicates that for the first time in the history of California there will be a political administration at that university.

Mr. Speaker, at the very first regent's meeting attended by the new Governor, a motion was made by the president of the State board of agriculture—the new Governor's recent appointee—to fire the president of the university. He was joined and supported most vehemently in favor of the motion to depose the president by the new Governor and the new Lieutenant Governor.

Mr. Speaker, it is not the action that disturbs me which resulted in the firing of President Kerr. It is the fact that at the very first meeting attended by the new Governor of the State of California, within 3 weeks after he subscribed to his oath of office, that he took the crass, graceless and, I feel, disturbing action which has resulted in the tumultuous upheaval at that university, leading one to conclude, without any reservation it seems to me, that political motivations are now involved in the administration of the university.

#### THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AND GOVERNOR REAGAN'S PROPOSALS FOR REDUCTIONS IN THE UNIVERSITY BUDGET

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the sentiments expressed by the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. WALDIE].

Mr. Speaker, as a Representative from the State of California, I have always been extremely proud of the great University of California. On Friday, the president of the university, Dr. Clark Kerr, was summarily fired by the uni-



versity's board of regents. I am shocked and upset by the firing of President Kerr just weeks after the installation of a new Governor and days after Governor Reagan's proposals for reductions in the university budget. Governor Reagan's continuing attack on the university can only damage its superb reputation and the high quality of education offered the young people of our State.

This grievous action runs directly contrary to the concept so long cherished by the people of California—the independence of its university from political shifts and changes. It is this independence of its governing board which has contributed so much to the achievements and honors of the university.

I want to pay a personal tribute at this time to Dr. Clark Kerr. President Kerr has a wide and just reputation as a great educator and it is a disaster that we have lost him.

#### THE CRISIS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

THE SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in expressing my own personal concern and alarm at the recent action of the board of regents.

In our great State of California we are proud of the tradition that our university has been insulated from the various political winds. However, Mr. Speaker, the action of this past week presents cause for a great deal of concern not only on the part of people of California, but also, I would feel, on the part of educators throughout the land.

The firing of Clark Kerr by the University of California Board of Regents was ill considered and unwarranted. It raises the specter of political machination and the suspicion that Governor Reagan and his advisers are willing to manipulate our great system of higher education for their own political gain.

In this, his first clear-cut opportunity to exercise real leadership and judgment, the Governor should have exerted himself to forestall such rash action. Instead he precipitated it, influencing others who would have preferred a more thoughtful course of action to go along with him.

#### THE SPEAKERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD at this point, under previous leave to do so, excerpts of an editorial which appeared in the January 19, 1967, issue of Roll Call, which deals with the speakership of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that the main thrust of this article expresses the

sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the House of Representatives. I include it at this point in my remarks:

#### THE SPEAKERSHIP

The Speaker of the House of Representatives wields great power. He derives that power, in the American tradition, by the consent of the governed.

Because of the prestige and power he commands, he is courted by and pressured by segments of the American society, ranging from the Executive Department to newspapers to lobbyists to the man in the street.

The Speaker is subservient to no force other than the people of the United States. As Booth Mooney, a former aide to President Johnson, points out in his book, "Mr. Speaker," the Speaker is the elected representative of the people's representatives. In being named to the speakership, he may be said to have received, indirectly, a majority of the votes of all the people of the United States.

It came as a shock to Congress this Tuesday morning when the Washington Post boldly suggested in its lead editorial, that Speaker John McCormack should resign the post to which his peers had elected him time and again.

Old age, inadequate leadership and the implications of incompetence and disinterest seemed to be the reasons for the rash demand. The Speaker's "weakness in command" is contrasted with former Speakers such as Clay and Cannon.

The role of the Speaker has changed along with the times and the perfection of the democratic process. The House today would not tolerate the partisanship of a Clay nor the despotism of a Cannon.

Another former Speaker cited by the Post is Sam Rayburn, ironically enough, the man who popularized the phrase, "Let the House work its will."

The Post was disturbed because the Speaker allowed a majority of the House to vote away the 21-day rule, discipline Adam Clayton Powell, and did not prohibit conservative Rep. William Colmer's ascendancy to Chairman of the House Rules Committee.

Therefore, if we read the writings correctly, the Speaker should proclaim himself a failure and gracefully retire, turning over the reins to a stronger Speaker . . .

The Post acknowledges the fact that Speaker McCormack performed well for the Administration while Democratic majorities were large, but adds that he does not seem able to pull victories out of the most closely-aligned membership at present.

It may be pointed out that things have changed in the past few years. The mood of the nation is constantly shifting. Naturally, with a diminishing of party strength, votes will be closer, with Representatives voting the dictates of their constituencies . . .

McCormack, a healthy and alert 75 years old, is well liked and well respected. He is neither a weak-kneed Muhlenberg nor a power-mad Cannon. His reign as Speaker has been in the great tradition of his predecessors but marked by the print of a humble and fair-minded man . . .

#### THE 49TH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

Mr. ERLNBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

THE SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, January 22

marked the 49th anniversary of Ukraine's independence. On this date in 1918, the Ukrainian nation declared its independence in the same manner as did the United States of America nearly 200 years ago. Now comprising some 45 million people, it is the largest captive non-Russian nation both in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe.

In 1920, after a mere 2 years of freedom, Ukraine became one of the first victims of Soviet colonialism, which was born with the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

Since that day the Soviets have enslaved millions of formerly free men. The Communist virus overwhelmed China shortly after World War II and now has the north of Vietnam under its heel. It is not too many years from 1920, when the Ukraine was enslaved, to 1967, when we are fighting to protect the freedom of South Vietnam. But those brief years, as they are measured in the course of history, have produced a staggering toll of suffering and death. Over 1 billion persons now lie under the cruel oppression of the Communists.

It is especially fitting to observe the anniversary of Ukraine's independence, at a time when men of the United States fight in Vietnam. To those weak reeds in this Nation who wish us to pull out of Vietnam, this advice: Read the melancholy list of nations, such as Ukraine, which have fallen before the Communists.

To these critics I pose a question: Do you want to add one more nation to the long list of those which have been conquered by communism?

Fortunately for the United States, these critics are few and will be found wanting in appreciation of history and the true nature of communism. They are the same voices who urged the United States to ignore the crimes committed by Hitler.

If we have learned anything during the last five decades, we have learned the dictators who lead Communist nations are never satisfied. They will not be satisfied until freedom has been erased from the earth.

I welcome this opportunity to restate a truth which, when forgotten, has led only to suffering: Those who would crush freedom must be stopped wherever they attack, be it in the Ukraine or in South Vietnam.

What a different world this would be if in 1920, when Ukraine lost its freedom, we free nations had acted to guarantee its freedom.

I also want to commend the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., especially its Minnesota branch, for setting aside January 22 each year as a reminder that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance.

I sincerely hope we in America have learned the hard lesson that freedom slips away from those who refuse to face reality—the cold reality that communism seeks the enslavement of men in whatever nation they live. What motivates the Communist despots is what has motivated despots through the ages. They are greedy for power and contemptuous of the right of all others.



## IMPORTS THREATEN U.S. FARM ECONOMY

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, U.S. farm income may take a serious drop this year unless the rising tide of agricultural imports is checked. With farm prices currently standing at 77 percent of parity, U.S. farmers can ill afford any further price losses through excessive imports.

Imports of beef, veal, mutton, cheese, and eggs are substantially higher than the levels of a year ago. Imports of meat subject to the 1964 quota law, for example, were almost 40 percent higher during the first 10 months of 1966 than they were during the same period in 1965.

The Department of Agriculture predicts that these meat imports will rise to a point just below the trigger level at which an import quota would become effective. This is certainly no guarantee that U.S. beef producers will not be faced with lower prices, for no one can draw a magic line and say "if imports stay below this level, American farmers won't be hurt." Depending on conditions, even a small amount of imports at the wrong time can send farm prices plummeting. We are going to have to keep a close eye on this whole situation if we hope to prevent a price disaster like that of 3 years ago.

Imports of dairy products have jumped enormously. Department of Agriculture figures show that—using a whole milk equivalent—dairy imports in 1966 were almost triple the 1965 level, and may nearly double again in 1967. Skyrocketing production costs, low milk prices and labor shortages have created terrific problems for our dairy farmers—increased dairy imports may be the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. If this happens, our recent worries about future milk shortages in this country may become a reality.

Sheep and lamb producers are also concerned over rising imports, and over a Government action which could have the same kind of price-depressing effect. The Department of Defense has negotiated an agreement with New Zealand and Australia for the purchase of 10 million pounds of lamb for use in Vietnam and the Far East. The Government says that they cut their costs about in half by purchasing foreign lamb for our servicemen, but we wonder what this action and the effect of increased imports are going to cost U.S. farmers. World trade must be a two-way street, but the fact is that the United States has far fewer restrictions on agricultural imports than any of the countries which are shipping farm commodities to us. We become an easy mark when these nations have other markets closed to them.

If the dairy products, meat and eggs which we are now importing in increas-

ing quantities were produced here instead of abroad, U.S. farmers would be using domestic grain to produce them. This would provide an additional home market for U.S. grain and would help strengthen prices.

If agricultural imports continue to increase unchecked at the present rate, our agricultural economy is threatened. With our surplus almost gone and a world food crisis on our doorstep, it would be sheer folly to impair in any way our agricultural efficiency and ability to produce food.

## POLISH GIVEAWAY OPPOSED

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn of an incredible U.S. State Department proposal that \$26 million in debts which Poland owes the United States for food shipments should not be repaid to the United States in dollars, but in Polish currency to be spent in Poland.

I find it inconceivable that at a time when Communist-ruled Poland is openly supporting and assisting the Hanoi regime in North Vietnam, our Government can consider what amounts to simply giving that nation millions of dollars.

Late last year a Hamburg newspaper dispatch noted that on one side of the harbor of Stettin, Poland, American wheat was being unloaded, while on the other side of that same harbor weapons to be used against American soldiers were loaded.

Only a week ago it was reported in the press that Cuba and Poland have signed a trade agreement by which Poland will supply food, consumer goods, and industrial and agricultural machinery to Cuba in exchange for Cuban sugar, rum, and minerals. If the State Department's proposal is accepted, it will mean that our supplies of food to Poland will allow Poland to supply food to Cuba.

Last June I introduced legislation to keep U.S. dollars from going to Castro via the United Nations Special Fund—dollars which would have been used for the training of Communist youths in electronics, radar, and military communications only 90 miles from our shores. I am completely opposed to this new State Department proposal which would, in effect, subsidize Polish shipments of industrial materials and goods to Cuba.

As long as Polish support is contributing to the export of Cuban communism to the Western Hemisphere and to the deaths of our servicemen in Vietnam, I find any effort to give Poland economic assistance absolutely unthinkable.

## REPORT OF THE VIETNAM ANALYSIS PROJECT

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman

from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Robert Lawrence of Los Angeles undertook a private study of the situation in Vietnam. This study resulted from a 1 year graduate research fellowship program in international relations at the University of Southern California. The purpose of the project, as he himself described it, was to compile an objective evaluation of each of the major factors involved in the current conflict in southeast Asia.

I have read the report of his project and commend it to each Member of the House for their careful study and attention. The report is an objective and balanced appraisal of the current situation. While I do not agree with every conclusion Mr. Lawrence reaches, I do agree with the broad results of his study. Members will find that this report brings together under major headings the relevant facts regarding each important development of the war in a concise form for ready reference.

Mr. Lawrence has a high level of intellectual ability and his scholarship is unquestioned. Last year he prepared an excellent report for the Republican task force on NATO and the Atlantic community regarding West German rearmament. Because of the thorough work he has done on the Vietnam project I insert his report in the RECORD at this point:

REPORT OF THE VIETNAM ANALYSIS PROJECT  
(By Robert Lawrence, graduate research fellow, University of Southern California, September 15, 1966)

### PREFACE

This is the Report of the Viet Nam Analysis Project, a private study done under the opportunity provided by a one-year graduate research fellowship program in international relations at the University of Southern California.

The purpose of this Project has been to compile an objective evaluation of each of the major factors involved in the current conflict in Southeast Asia. For purposes of brevity, some seemingly side issues (e.g. the war in Laos) have been left out. However, in the course of compiling this Report, every attempt has been made to examine any material immediately relevant. Thus, should it be found that any major omissions exist, the reader may rest assured this was an unintentional occurrence.

This Project actually commenced when this researcher was sent to South Vietnam fifteen months ago on a two-month State Department (AID) mission in the summer of 1965 for intern work in the field of economic intelligence. As a consequence, some of the data contained herein draws from that experience. However, every attempt has been made to ensure that no classified material has been incorporated within this Report in any way and that any confidential briefings have been deleted.

More specifically, the data used in compiling this Report has come from a variety of sources: pre-departure briefings given by the U.S. Department of State, Department of Defense and the Agency for International Development; field notes gathered while in the Republic of Vietnam and from meetings there with various members of



the South Vietnamese government and military command as well as with members of the U.S. Embassy, U.S. Operations Mission and the U.S. Armed Forces (including the U.S. Ambassador at that time, the Hon. Maxwell Taylor and the U.S. commander of forces, Gen. William C. Westmoreland); captured Viet Cong documents released by the South Vietnamese government or by the U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; private correspondence with members of foreign governments within and outside of Southeast Asia and from over 1500 reports from national news magazines, wire services and major newspapers in the U.S. and abroad as well as from the scholarly and military literature available on the subject of Communist revolutionary guerrilla warfare.

At the same time, the writer of this Report has had the benefit of private counsel from a number of distinguished individuals concerned with the current contest in Vietnam and wishes to express a strong sense of gratitude to them here: to Professor Philip E. Mosley, Director of the European Institute at Columbia University; to Dr. Stefan T. Possony, Director of the International Political Studies Program at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University; to several individuals connected with the RAND Corporation who, for obvious reasons, must have their names withheld here and to former colleagues and mentors at the University of Southern California.

It should be expressly understood that the conclusions and findings of this Report do not necessarily reflect those of any other person aside from the author or of any institution connected with this Report in any way whatsoever. This project has not been carried on under any auspices of the U.S. Government and has not been financed by it in any way whatsoever.

#### INTRODUCTION—THE INDOCHINA WAR AS A PRELUDE

During World War II, the French were driven out of their colonies in Indochina by the Japanese. When the war ended, the French attempted to return Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to their former colonial status and found themselves challenged in this endeavor by the Viet-Minh, a former anti-Japanese guerrilla organization led by the Indochinese Communist Party.

That war began in 1946 and ended in 1954 with the Geneva Accords after the Viet-Minh had stormed and captured the symbol of the French military presence, the fortress of Dien Bien Phu. Under these Accords, both sides were to cease fighting, the three states of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were granted their independence and Vietnam was to be temporarily divided at the 17th parallel into two zones. It was further stipulated that the two zones were to be reunited by free elections at the end of two years (i.e., by 1956).

Most importantly, it should be noted that the Accords were only signed by the French Government and by the Communist regime that was to occupy the Northern zone in Vietnam. Neither the United States nor any representative of the Southern zone (today's South Vietnam) bound themselves to these, although the Accords insisted that any parties who succeeded those of the signatories "in their functions" would also be automatically bound to the Accords.

In 1956, the reunification elections were not held.

If the Viet-Minh goal had been to gain all of Vietnam through either its war against France or the Accords, it had failed and some other way would have to be found.

The central conclusion developed from the data gathered in this analysis project is that the current war in Vietnam represents the method the Communist regime chose to use: that the Viet-Minh, as the Democratic Re-

public of Vietnam (North Vietnam), encouraged, supports and is solidly linked to the Viet Cong; that a Viet Cong victory by its own admission would accomplish the objective of adding South Vietnam to North Vietnam and that the Viet Cong war of "national liberation" is a means to this aggressive end.

#### PART I—THE NATURE OF THE VIETCONG

From the beginning of its existence, the Viet Cong has maintained that it is a legitimate expression of the South Vietnamese who wish to reunite their half of the country with that of North Vietnam.

The data gathered shows that this claim is false: that the Viet Cong is not of South Vietnamese origin, but is a direct descendant of the Communist organizations now headquartered within the North Vietnamese government; that the Viet Cong was initially set in motion by that government, is controlled by that government and follows goals favoring that government.

#### Viet Cong origin and evolution

*The Viet Cong is the latest in a series of organizations that have aimed at bringing the entirety of Vietnam, if not all of Indochina, under Communist rule.*

In 1930, Ho Chi Minh, acting under orders from the Chinese Communist Party, took the Vietnamese Communist Party then in existence and enlarged it to embrace the Laotian and Cambodian Reds in a new organization known as the Indochina Communist Party.<sup>1</sup>

The ICP, in turn, created a national anti-Japanese front group to serve in its publicly-visible stead in 1941 as the Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh (Revolutionary League for the Independence of Vietnam) or Viet Minh. Like many other front groups at that time, the Viet Minh initially contained a number of non-Communist elements that shared the common goal of freeing Indochina of Japanese influence; however, during World War II, as the Viet Minh fought against the Japanese in Indochina, its Communist leaders also rid themselves of all possible future rivals in Vietnam by branding all opponents as pro-Japanese traitors and dealing with them accordingly.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, when the Japanese left Vietnam, the Viet Minh was the major native organized political entity. Appearing as the National Liberation Committee of Vietnam, it seized control of the government in Hanoi and in Saigon and then proclaimed the existence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) or North Vietnam.<sup>3</sup>

In an attempt at reducing potential opposition from the Allies then in the process of occupying Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh supposedly dissolved the old ICP upon the creation of the Association for Marxist Studies, which served as a reservoir for his Communist followers.<sup>4</sup>

To broaden his base of nationalist support even further, Ho then created the Lien Viet, another communist front organization that initially contained influential non-Communists.<sup>5</sup> Members of the Association for Marxist studies soon joined the Lien Viet, took it over from within and came to dominate it.<sup>6</sup> These Association members became the first members of the Lao Dong or Communist Party of North Vietnam.<sup>7</sup>

It was this organization, the Lao Dong, that called for the creation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, set up the Central Office for South Vietnam as the military arm of the Viet Cong and the People's Revolutionary Party of South Viet-

nam which serves as the ostensible South Vietnamese Communist Party that is supposedly free of Hanoi's control.<sup>8</sup>

Since the beginning of the war of the Viet Cong, North Vietnam has taken an active interest and part in its progress. As Le Duan, first secretary of the Lao Dong central committee stated in his March 13, 1963 speech at the Nguyen Ai Quoc party school in Hanoi, "The North is the common base of the nation-wide revolution."

In September, 1960, it was Le Duan again who called for the creation of a South Vietnamese national Liberation front.<sup>9</sup> On September 10, the Lao Dong party congress passed a resolution stating, in part, "to insure the complete success of the revolutionary struggle in southern Vietnam, our people there must strive to establish a united bloc of workers, peasants and soldiers and to bring into being a broad national front, directed against the U.S.-Diem clique and based on the worker-peasant alliance."<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that the "worker-peasant alliance" has been the basic political building block of Asian Communists since the days of Mao Tse-tung.<sup>11</sup>

At no time since the 1940's has the Lao Dong lost control over its organization in the South. Men who fought against the French during the Indochina War as leading guerrilla commanders now lead units fighting against the South Vietnamese government; the main Viet Cong newspaper—"Gia Phong" (Liberation)—used the same title employed by one of the official Viet Minh publications.<sup>12</sup>

#### Viet Cong organization

*The Viet Cong is composed of two main organizations: the National Liberation Front (NLF) which handles administrative and political affairs and the Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN) which commands the military units of the Viet Cong.*

When the National Liberation Front held its organizing conference, it included among its charter members alleged representatives of those South Vietnamese groups most dissatisfied with the prevailing order within South Vietnam. Among those attending during the February 16-March 3, 1962, meeting was:<sup>13</sup>

Ybhi Aleo—member of the Rhades tribe, one of the largest Montagnard minorities in South Vietnam;

Dai Duc Son Vong—representing the 500,000 Khmers (Cambodians) residing in South Vietnam;

Vo Chi Cong—an anti-French rebel nationalist;

Huynh Tan Phat—Saigon architect representing the Democratic party;

Josef Marie Hohue Ba—Catholic, and

Thich Thien Hao—a Buddhist monk.

The NLF does not control the Viet Cong armed forces; the guerrilla units are run by an organization known as COSVN, the Central Office for South Vietnam, which reports directly to the reunification department of the North Vietnamese Lao Dong party. Through its military affairs department, COSVN is the "high command" for Viet Cong guerrilla units.<sup>14</sup>

The NLF is limited to political and administrative assignments handled by its mass or-

<sup>1</sup> Neil Sheehan in the *New York Times* for May 2, 1966.

<sup>2</sup> Neil Sheehan, *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Neil Sheehan, *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> "Reasons for the Emergence and Survival of Red Political Power in China" October 5, 1928 in *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963.

<sup>5</sup> Sheehan, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Ted Sell in *Los Angeles Times* of Sept. 2, 1964.

<sup>7</sup> Neil Sheehan, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Fall, Bernard, *The Two Vietnams*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1963.

<sup>9</sup> Fall, *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Fall, *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Fall, *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Fall, *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Fall, *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Fall, *Ibid.*



ganizations within the provinces, districts, villages and hamlets of South Vietnam. These latter, in turn, are controlled by COSNV through communist members who hold key spots in the NLF committee.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Viet Cong goals*

The goals of the Viet Cong were first expressed by its political and administrative arm, the National Liberation Front, as the NLF Program for South Vietnam.

This program was first announced on the official founding date of the National Liberation Front, December 20, 1960.<sup>16</sup>

In summary, the NLF program for South Vietnam stated its intention to:

1. Overthrow the colonial regime of the U.S.-Diem clique;
2. Institute a largely liberal and democratic (i.e. democratic centralism, or communist) regime;
3. Establish an independent economy and improve the people's living standards;
4. Reduce land rent, implement agrarian reform with the aim of providing land to the tillers;
5. Develop a national and democratic culture and education;
6. Create a national army devoted to the Fatherland and the people and to abolish all foreign military bases;
7. Guarantee equality between various minorities and between sexes; protect legitimate interests of foreign citizens abroad and of Vietnamese citizens residing abroad (and grant minorities within Vietnam their own "autonomous" zones);
8. Promote a foreign policy of peace and neutrality (canceling all unequal treaties, especially those with the U.S.; developing close solidarity with socialist and neutral countries and with Cambodia and Laos; staying outside of any military bloc and refusing any formal military alliance);
9. Reunify the country and to
10. Help all other national liberation movements elsewhere.

#### *PART II—VIETCONG METHODS OF OPERATION*

To carry out its pretense at being a South Vietnamese organization independent of North Vietnam, the Vietcong maintains what purports to be its own political system; a taxation system that purports to provide the Vietcong with all necessary means of financial support; a campaign by its National Liberation Front designed to convince other governments that the Vietcong is virtually a "sovereign nation-state" and a corps of unofficial "fifth columnists" in countries opposing the Viet Cong war.

#### *Viet Cong political system*

As a political device that is specifically aimed at recruiting members from among the South Vietnamese populace, the Vietcong maintains the People's Revolutionary Party; ostensibly a South Vietnamese Communist Party, actually a creation and creature of North Vietnam.

On December 15, 1961, the North Vietnamese Communist Party, the Lao Dong, dispatched cadres to South Vietnam to establish the People's Revolutionary Party.<sup>17</sup> Although, in actuality, it would be a creature of the Lao Dong, its purpose would be to appear as an independent organ resting upon a South Vietnamese base.<sup>18</sup>

In its October, 1965 training manual for its own cadres, the PRP sets forth as its goals the overthrowing of "imperialism, colonialism", smashing the "United States presence as well as its feudal servants (i.e., the gov-

ernment of South Vietnam)" and "liberating" South Vietnam.<sup>19</sup>

"Once independence is attained, the next step is unification (of North and South Vietnam). Then will come the social reorganization work, along socialist-communist principles: land without demarcation (i.e., commonly-owned), cooperative electrification of the rural areas, re-education of individuals . . . also, helping other small weak countries to struggle against imperialism."<sup>20</sup>

The PRP functions as a transmission belt and control group of the NLF and NLF army. It is active in every province, district and village of South Vietnam. It represents the North Vietnamese government and Communist Party. It is a coalition representing many groups in South Vietnam, some of which are only fictional. It has six regional groups, including a party regional committee, a front regional committee and an army regional committee. Each province has its own local committee in addition to the separate ones in each district, village and hamlet. As one of its main goals it seeks to get non-communists into the NLF.<sup>21</sup>

In the early part of 1966 a document setting forth the rules of the PRP was released by the South Vietnamese Government. The document had been captured earlier by U.S.-South Vietnamese forces and its author was obviously a member of the Vietnamese communist apparatus, possibly on the Lao Dong staff in Hanoi.<sup>22</sup>

Upon translation, the document was found to state a number of relevant specifics as to the nature of the PRP, how it attempts to function in South Vietnam and how one becomes a member.

According to the document, membership is open to anyone 18 years of age or older who wishes to become a member and is willing to pay Party dues. However, it also states that each prospective new member must be sponsored by two official members who are familiar with the background of the applicant and that the specific requirements for each applicant will be determined by that applicant's social and economic background.

The document goes on to state that prospective new members must be willing to reveal their personal history to the Party for its examination and investigation by each member of the Party unit to which the prospective new member is making application. After satisfactory approval by that unit, the applicant becomes a prospective new member and is sent through a probationary period.

The document states that the Vietnamese People's Revolutionary Party is organized on the basis of democratic centralism; that a party unit will be established once there are three or more members in the same area; that this basic unit will have its own secretary; a unit with seven members will have a secretary and a deputy secretary; those units with more than seven will have an executive committee which will elect the secretary and a deputy secretary if the latter is desired.

Further, the document states that the local Party unit has as its duty the responsibility of mobilizing the local people and assisting them in their fight, that local units are to remain in contact with their superior units at all times and that when such contact is interrupted the local unit is to carry on its local work as before and seek to renew contact with superior units as soon as possible.

<sup>15</sup> Neil Sheehan, *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> NLF Document.

<sup>17</sup> Warner, Denis, *The Last Confucian*, The Macmillan Co., 1963, New York.

<sup>18</sup> Warner, *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Douglas Pike in the *Reporter Magazine* for Feb. 24, 1966.

<sup>20</sup> Pike, *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> From pre-departure briefings, given in Washington, D.C., June, 1965.

<sup>22</sup> From NLF document.

sible. In those areas temporarily controlled by the "enemy", Party bodies are told to act secretly to protect the Party.

Members are told that their duties include the study of Marxism-Leninism and the constant practice of self-criticism.

Discipline, the document states, is both important and constant; its purpose is to unify and strengthen the Party and to instruct Party members. In those cases where discipline is warranted due to infractions by Party members or units, it is to be unquestionably applied. In the case of individual members it consists of reprimands, warnings and revocation of position and/or elimination from the Party temporarily or permanently. For Party units, discipline consists of reprimands, warnings and temporary or permanent dissolution.

The document concludes by stating that only the Party's central executive committee has the authority to change any of these rules.

#### *Viet Cong taxation system*

To finance its many military and political activities, the Viet Cong has designed and installed a sophisticated and thorough system of taxation in the areas under its control in South Vietnam.

Some of the specifics of this system came to light in a captured Viet Cong document that is estimated as having been disseminated in January of 1965.<sup>23</sup>

The document is a pamphlet "catechism" designed to instruct the lower-level cadres and inhabitants of agricultural areas under Viet Cong control as to the taxation policies that are to be used in such an area to finance the war.

Through a series of thirteen questions and answers, one is told both how the peasants are to economically support the war (referred to as the Revolution) and, within this context, the specific mechanics of the taxation system (including tax "brackets" and "exemptions").

Financial problems are noted in the very beginning, with the increased costs of this war in 1964 shown by the comment that some "donated three and four times more" in 1964 than in 1963. Tax "dodgers" and "malingerers" are also commented upon, and, while chided for their "ignorance" are not severely censured, thus causing one to wonder if these practices are not so widespread as to rule out full condemnation as a tool. In place of censorship, there is urging—urging those guilty of these practices to realize the harm they are causing.

Throughout this document the usual propaganda themes (the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys seek to "colonize" South Vietnam, "we are growing stronger day by day," "we are winning, etc.") run rampant.

Marxist economic principles lie at the base of the tax system. Each is taxed "according to his ability" and the Revolution is financed "according to its needs". It should be noted that a "progressive" tax scale is applied—with those earning more, paying more.

Among the errors committed by those not fully cooperating are: claiming less land than they truly own, claiming a smaller crop yield and harvest than actually occurred, claiming greater damages to crops than were suffered, underpayment of taxes due, failure to pay and postponing payments.

Chief results of such behavior are listed as: loss of revenues, loss of equality and loss of "unity".

To keep unity strong and devotion high, "evaluation and comment" conferences are held by the people, under cadre supervision. During these conferences "jealousies" and "misunderstandings" are ironed out. "Indifferent" attitudes are stamped out.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*



The pamphlet tells how local "granges" or "farmers' associations" function as the tax-collecting-and-paying unit. Every farmer belongs to one association ("working-and-enjoying-together-the-farm-produce" group) and members other than farmers are carefully allotted; thus, it is noted, as one example, that those families taking care of two children of cadres who are off fighting will be given the two memberships, in addition to their own, that their parents would have had (thus reducing their tax as tax is based upon numbers, inversely).

An annual quota is set for each association and used to encourage diversified agriculture and over-quota production by means of the indirect "subsidy" of tax reductions and exemptions (the amount over quota is not taxed).

Prior to the establishment of quotas, land is categorized in one of four classes, each with its own tax "bracket"; thus: 1st class land, tax of 300 bushels; 2nd class land, tax of 250 bushels; 3rd class land, tax of 170 bushels; 4th class land, tax of 120 bushels.

Rice is the "staple base" used in setting all calculations. For other produce equivalent means are applied, thus: lettuce, squash, cucumbers, pumpkins and melons are counted as being worth two or three times that of crops obtained from first class rice lands in the same region due to the surface area (or labor, in some cases) needed to raise these crops.

Allowances are also made for the farmer with more than one crop per year, more than just a rice crop alone (rice and . . .) and no rice, but other kinds of produce.

People are urged to pay fully and on time, to encourage others to do the same and to pay fairly ("If paying with rice, pay with rice that is thoroughly dried").

It is also noted that full payment will allow the Revolution not only to be able to meet its normal needs but, in addition, to allow a "reserve fund" to be established to pay for "greater" needs if and when such may arise.

Exemptions and reductions are thoroughly gone into and the allowances that may be granted for various crop failures is spelled out. Some disasters are considered to be worth more than others (e.g. being captured by the U.S. "enemy"). Disasters not minimized by efforts then available to the peasants are not compensated for by reductions as much as they would have been otherwise.

Thus, in a drought, where one farmer brought in water and one did not, the farmer's losses are made up for by a greater tax reduction than that granted to the latter.

Throughout the entire document, great attention is given to meticulous detail, revealing a tremendous amount of planning and thought given by this system's designers. As examples, specific tax reductions for various types of disasters are spelled out, by percentage per disaster type; the tax equivalence of any crop is shown, by exact multiplications of hectares of rice land; the amount of taxes to be paid in kind are specified for each farmers' association on an exact mathematical formula using the yield, number of association members, rice conversion factors, etc.

#### Viet Cong "Nation-State"

Since at least 1962 the National Liberation Front has attempted to behave as though the Viet Cong was an actual "national-state" and has performed a number of international acts in an attempt at substantiating itself as another government.

In 1962 Nguyen Van Hieu, then secretary-general of the NLF, led an NLF delegation to Hanoi, Peking, Moscow, eastern Europe, Switzerland, Egypt, Cuba, Burma and Indonesia in an attempt at bidding for international support and recognition.<sup>24</sup>

In Cuba, an NLF mission was installed as a "quasi-ambassadorial" entity. In Egypt an NLF delegate was attached to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo. In Indonesia, and in Communist bloc countries in eastern Europe, a representative of the NLF was installed in the capitals.<sup>25</sup>

In June, 1962 the NLF extended "foreign aid" to Algeria.<sup>26</sup>

In 1963, a separate NLF, delegation was appointed to Algeria.<sup>27</sup>

In March, 1965 the NLF sent its own delegation to the Indochina Conference, billed by its sponsors as a meeting of the liberation movements of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.<sup>28</sup>

On April 23, 1965 the NLF opened an office in Moscow headed by its representative, Dan Quang Minh. In Peking, Iran Van Thanh headed a permanent NLF mission.<sup>29</sup>

In July of 1966, the North Vietnamese Ambassador to Peking, Tran Tu Binh, told a mass rally in Red China that the only way the Vietnamese war could be settled would be for the U.S. to recognize the stands of both the NLF and of North Vietnam, although there is virtually no difference between them.<sup>30</sup>

[References 31 through 46 were deleted from the Text.]

#### PART III—VIET CONG AID FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

To conduct its war against South Vietnam, the Viet Cong has drawn upon assistance from North Vietnam, the Soviet Union, Red China and Cambodia, among other countries.

The degree and extent of this assistance varies from one country to another, depending upon the interest of the countries involved in the outcome of this war. In at least one instance, that of Cambodia, it is just possible that the assistance is of an involuntary nature.

#### Viet Cong aid from North Vietnam

Since 1963 North Vietnam has been infiltrating men and supplies into South Vietnam to assist the Viet Cong campaign. While at first North Vietnam denied this as its role, recently it has come to admit its support publicly. In addition to the manpower and materiel, North Vietnam has also assisted the Viet Cong in the diplomatic realm where it has acted as the Viet Cong's spokesman. North Vietnam no longer seeks the conquest of South Vietnam, alone, as its goal. Instead, it is now trying to demonstrate to would-be revolutionaries everywhere that its means of warfare are superior to that of the U.S. and, thus, can be used effectively and with the certainty of success at any time.

The first company of North Vietnamese troops entered South Vietnam in 1963 in response to the political turmoil caused by the fall of Ngo Dinh Diem.<sup>31</sup> Through 1964 this infiltration continued.

By March, 1965 it was reported that 7,000 men were being infiltrated into South Vietnam each month,<sup>32</sup> in May this was reduced to 3,500 as the Viet Cong recruited an equivalent number within South Vietnam;<sup>33</sup> in December the rate was back up to 4,500 infiltrators per month<sup>34</sup> in 1966 it has been running at about 5,000 a month.<sup>35</sup>

By August it was reported that the flow of additional Communist military manpower

had reached a point where more troops were coming in on the Viet Cong side than U.S. forces could then kill or capture fast enough; about half of these troops were reported as coming from regular North Vietnamese units.<sup>36</sup> Some 35,000 had infiltrated into South Vietnam from January to August.<sup>37</sup>

The means of infiltration have been fairly standard and well-organized. Troops are first grouped into staging areas in the southern part of North Viet Nam where they are formed into units. From there they are usually transported by truck into Laos where they then march some fifteen days through the jungles into South Vietnam. Along the way, the troops are furnished regular guides and use a system of some fifty to eighty border stations where they can have rest and relaxation each night of their trip as well as food. This system is maintained by some five to six-thousand troops assisted by the Pathet Lao in the eastern part of Laos that borders Vietnam.<sup>38</sup>

North Vietnam's assistance has also been widely felt in the diplomatic realm where, on more than one occasion, it has acted as the spokesman for the Viet Cong it has claimed is independent of its control.

At the end of 1964, as one example, it was "Nhan Dan", the official paper of North Vietnam, that boldly stated that peace talks could only come when the United States gives up in Vietnam.

In April, 1965 it was North Vietnam that rejected President Johnson's offer of unconditional discussions and the Asian Development Bank proposed in his Baltimore, Md. speech as the "dreams of a madman."

In November, 1965 it was Hanoi that repeated that the U.S. must withdraw its forces before any peace talks can be held.

In January, 1966 it was Hanoi that pledged that the fight will be carried on for five, ten, twenty years or more until it is won. In July, 1966 Ho Chi Minh, for the first time, admitted that North Vietnam has been actively assisting the Viet Cong and promised that continued aid to the Viet Cong would be sent by Hanoi.<sup>39</sup> He then asked a partial mobilization of North Vietnam's reserves to assist in forthcoming efforts.<sup>40</sup>

Throughout this conflict North Vietnam's goal has not been merely the conquest of South Vietnam, although this, too, has been sought. As North Vietnamese General Giap stated, North Vietnam's principal goal in this conflict is to demonstrate that its means of warfare is superior to that of the U.S. and thus can be used by other revolutionaries in every other part of the world.<sup>41</sup>

#### Viet Cong aid from Red China and the Soviet Union

Red Chinese and Soviet activity<sup>42</sup> in the Vietnam conflict is divided between two aspects: that of competing for North Vietnam's political allegiance within the international Communist movement and that of cooperating with North Vietnam in defeating the U.S. in Southeast Asia. Overall, the Chinese have made the most noise, frequently resorting to the bitterest and most militant comments in denouncing the U.S. effort. The Soviets, by contrast, have been comparatively mild in their statements. For the most part, the main aid received from Red China has been in the form of political and military doctrine, basic weapons and jet aircraft. The main Soviet aid has consisted of more complex weaponry. As of this report, neither outside power seems intent upon directly intervening in the conflict imminently. How-

<sup>24</sup> August 10, 1966 *Wall Street Journal*.

<sup>25</sup> August 10, 1966 *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>26</sup> From pre-departure briefing notes.

<sup>27</sup> *Peking Review* of July 22, 1966.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> July 19, 1964 "Nhan Dan."

<sup>30</sup> Honey, P. J., *Communism in North Vietnam*, the MIT Press, 1963.

<sup>25</sup> Warner, *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Warner, *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Fall, *op. cit.*

<sup>28</sup> "The Indochina Conference," an NLF Document.

<sup>29</sup> *Peking Review* of July 29, 1966.

<sup>30</sup> *Peking Review* of July 15, 1966.

<sup>31</sup> Ed Meagher in September 3, 1964 *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>32</sup> June 17, 1966 *Time* magazine.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> December 17, 1965 *Time* magazine.

<sup>35</sup> August 10, 1966 *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>24</sup> Warner, *op. cit.*



ever, at least China has warned that she could be pushed too far.

During the first decade of North Vietnam's existence Red China and the Soviet Union set the pattern for their relationship to each other in Vietnam that is still present today as they vied with each other in gaining Hanoi's allegiance to their faction within the international Communist movement.<sup>59</sup>

During this first decade both gave North Vietnam aid.<sup>60</sup> Red China had a head start, however, as she had trained thousands of Viet Minh back in the days of the anti-French war and had also assisted these forerunners of today's Viet Cong by granting them military equipment during this same conflict.<sup>61</sup>

From 1954 to 1961 Red Chinese and the Soviet bloc countries gave North Vietnam some \$1 billion in aid; of this Red China gave \$662 million, virtually twice the \$365 million the USSR donated (Russia's satellite nations gave another \$38 million during this same interval).<sup>62</sup>

When, in 1961, Hanoi sought to initiate an industrial development campaign it was to the Soviet Union that she turned thinking that this was beyond the resources of Peking.<sup>63</sup> In response, the Red Chinese sent a military delegation to Hanoi in December, 1961 led by Marshal Yen Chien-ying, president and political commissar of the National Defense Council.<sup>64</sup> The details of that meeting have not been made public. Suffice it to say, though, that since that time Hanoi has veered further and further toward Peking's orbit.

By September, 1963 North Vietnam was virtually echoing Red China's line in her official journal "Hoc Tap", when she stated that: violence is necessary to carry out any revolution; modern revisionists fear violence and thus contradict Marxist-Leninist teachings; modern revisionists preach reformism; there is no precedent for a "peaceful" transition to socialism and nuclear weapons are not an important factor in modern revolutionary guerrilla wars.<sup>65</sup>

During 1964 both Moscow and Peking promised Hanoi their support against the U.S. and granted Hanoi additional arms.

In February, the Soviet Union promised its support to guerrillas ("necessary assistance and support") and said that if the U.S. should invade North Vietnam, "the Soviet people would not remain indifferent . . ."<sup>66</sup>

In June, Red China said if the U.S. intensified the war it would go to war against the U.S. immediately.<sup>67</sup> Immediately following this statement, however, Moscow warned Peking not to count on Soviet assistance if Red China found itself involved in a direct confrontation with the U.S.<sup>68</sup>

When, in August, the U.S. responded to North Vietnam's attacks upon U.S. ships by bombing North Vietnamese ports, the USSR warned the U.S. that if it provokes a war on the "socialist countries" the Soviet Union would "stand up."<sup>69</sup> At the same time, Peking sent Hanoi its first jet aircraft, a small number of older Mig-15's and Mig-17's.<sup>70</sup> Following this it was reported that Red Chinese military "advisors" were ac-

tually in the field in South Vietnam helping Viet Cong.<sup>71</sup>

Russian help during 1965 consisted of sending Hanoi surface-to-air anti-aircraft missiles (SAM) of the same 28-mile range already then in Cuba and in Red China as well as six to eight IL-28 medium jet bombers capable of reaching Saigon from North Vietnam on bomb runs.

During 1965 Russia also: 1) said it could not remain "indifferent" to U.S. attacks on North Vietnam; 2) told the United Kingdom it could no longer serve as a co-chairman of the Geneva peace-keeping machinery set up in 1954; 3) promised it would let "volunteers" go to North Vietnam to fight the U.S. "if the U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) continues and is intensified" and if the DRV appeals to the USSR for such assistance and 4) promised the DRV it would send more economic and technical aid.

China began the year when, in February, the West German magazine, Der Stern, quoted an earlier interview with Mao Tse-tung by Edgar Snow who reported that Mao said there would be no war between Red China and the U.S. over Vietnam as long as Red Chinese territory was not attacked. Later that month Peking said its forces stood "ready in battle array" to meet any U.S. invasion of North Vietnam.<sup>72</sup>

In March it said it was ready to "send our men."<sup>73</sup> On April 21 it said it had ordered full preparations to be made to send its troops into the Vietnam war and stated that if the U.S. continued to escalate the conflict, "volunteers might come."<sup>74</sup>

To date in 1966 Peking and Moscow have continued their competition for Hanoi's loyalty. By August, Soviet aid has been stepped up. China has told Hanoi it should fight its war on the basis of its own self-sufficiency just as the Red Chinese did in their revolution and Hanoi has told Moscow it appreciates its offer of troops from the Warsaw Pact countries, but it does not need them just yet.

At the start of this year Peking had been publicly critical of the quality of Soviet aid to Hanoi. However, upon the visit to North Vietnam of Alexander Shelepin, Soviet Communist Party Secretary, Hanoi publicly declared its thanks for the Soviet Union's "big and valuable" aid. Accompanying Shelepin was Col. Gen. Vladimir F. Talubko, a Soviet rocket expert.<sup>75</sup>

By March it was becoming known that Soviet missile personnel were actually working inside North Vietnam on the initial operation of Soviet anti-aircraft rockets downing U.S. jets.<sup>76</sup>

In April both the representatives of Hanoi and the NLF were in Moscow at the 23rd Communist Party Conference where both publicly thanked the U.S.S.R. for its valuable aid. By now Soviet-built Mig-21's were being used in North Vietnam against U.S. craft and by July they were being used with air-to-air missiles also presumably supplied by the Soviet Union. By April, Hanoi also had Polish-built trucks running on its infiltration routes to the south and additional financial contributions from East Germany.<sup>77</sup>

When, in July, the U.S. struck the oil facilities in Haiphong, the Soviets protested

this had endangered the lives of Soviet crews and Soviet ships and then offered to carry out the pledge of volunteers from the Warsaw Pact nations. Hanoi turned that offer down, for the time being.<sup>78</sup>

Peking was warning its people, in April, to prepare for war with the U.S. "in the next year or two", then met with the delegation from Hanoi after North Vietnam concluded its attendance at the 23rd Party Conference. Peking pledged Hanoi additional support.

In May, Foreign Minister Chen Yi told Filipino diplomats Red China would enter the Vietnam war if the U.S. bombed Hanoi or Haiphong.<sup>79</sup>

In June, Red China, along with Hanoi repeated its opposition to any role in this conflict for the UN. It also refused to move from opposing any plans for joint aid projects for Hanoi as had been proposed by the USSR.

In July,<sup>80</sup> following the U.S. bombing at Haiphong, Peking said it was now "freed from any bounds or restrictions" in assisting the North Vietnamese, but, in its first major statement following the attack, it further stated that it had no plans to intervene and again stressed the idea of self-dependence in wars of national liberation, an idea expressed by Defense Minister Lin Biao in a paper published by Peking the previous September.<sup>81</sup>

In mid-July North Vietnam's ambassador to Red China met with Premier Chou En-lai.<sup>82</sup> At the end of their meeting, Chou promised, "No matter what U.S. imperialism may do, China will, in accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people, continue to be ready at any time to take all necessary actions. . . ."<sup>83</sup>

Four days later, Chairman Liu Shao-chi expanded this further when he remarked that "the Chinese people are ready to undertake the greatest national sacrifices" to aid North Vietnam.<sup>84</sup> He then added that "The vast expanse of China's territory is the reliable rear area of the Vietnamese people" and warned the U.S. against "further" escalation of the conflict.<sup>85</sup>

#### Viet Cong aid from Cambodia

Cambodia has played a supporting role in the Vietnam war for some time as Viet Cong troops use Cambodian territory for staging areas, purchase food and supplies there and turn to it as a sanctuary when in flight. To date, however, Cambodia has denied that it willingly supported any of these activities.

Since 1964 western intelligence has known that Cambodia has served the Communist cause in South Vietnam by acting as a "way station" for goods shipped from outside Southeast Asia bound for the VC within South Vietnam. According to reports, the goods go to Phnompenh and from there are moved across the Mekong River to the VC in South Vietnam.<sup>86</sup>

In May, 1966<sup>87</sup> it was reported that the Cambodian government has allowed the VC to use its territory for the "rest and recreation" of VC troops. It was also reported that Cambodia has donated supplies to the VC, allowed a new infiltration route of truck roads, bike trails and rivers to be set up by the VC known as the "Sihanouk Trail" and

<sup>78</sup> July 27, 1966 UPI from Moscow.

<sup>79</sup> May 25, 1966 *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>80</sup> New China News Agency July 3, 1966.

<sup>81</sup> July 12, 1966 *Peking Peoples Daily*; Lin Biao in *Peking Peoples Daily* for September 3, 1965.

<sup>82</sup> Renmin Ribao of July 18, 1966.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> July 22 statement published in *Peking Review* for July 29, 1966.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Robert R. Brunn, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor* for September 2, 1964.

<sup>87</sup> May 13, 1966 *Time* magazine.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Fall, *op. cit.*

<sup>61</sup> Tanham, George, *Communist Revolutionary Warfare*, Praeger Publishers, New York 1961.

<sup>62</sup> Fall, *op. cit.*

<sup>63</sup> Honey, *op. cit.*

<sup>64</sup> Warner, *op. cit.*

<sup>65</sup> According to Herbert Aptheker February 20, 1966 lecture in Los Angeles, California.

<sup>66</sup> Tass dispatch of February 26, 1964.

<sup>67</sup> Victor Zorza in the *Manchester Guardian* for July 21, 1964.

<sup>68</sup> *U.S. News & World Report* for July 6, 1964.

<sup>69</sup> *Izvestia* for August 8, 1964.

<sup>70</sup> August 12, 1964 *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>71</sup> August 11, 1964 *Los Angeles Times* quoting Ambassador Lodge.

<sup>72</sup> *Peking Peoples Daily* February 10, 1965.

<sup>73</sup> *Peking Peoples Daily* February 25, 1965.

<sup>74</sup> Radio Peking broadcast of April 21, 1965.

<sup>75</sup> January 6, 1966 *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>76</sup> According to Max Frankel of the *New York Times* in a lecture given in Los Angeles March 30, 1966.

<sup>77</sup> East German News Agency, ADN for April 1, 1966 according to the Associated Press.



that up to 40 trucks per day use this trail to supply the VC. Four North Vietnamese regiments were reportedly then encamped in Cambodia in preparation for their further move into South Vietnam.<sup>88</sup>

In May, 1966 U.S. guns had fired into Cambodia from South Vietnam to silence VC guns inside Cambodia's territory. Thousands of VC guerrillas and main-line elements were reported camped in Cambodia and supplied by Cambodian merchants.<sup>89</sup>

In May it was also reported<sup>90</sup> that the Soviet Union and Red China had landed heavy war material at the deep-water port of Sihanoukville that was destined for North Vietnamese and VC troops in South Vietnam.

In July 1966 U.S. forces fired into Cambodia at VC forces fleeing there.

Throughout all of this, the Cambodian government has refused to admit that it allows any of these actions in support of the VC to take place and has denied that it has taken any active role to assist the VC.<sup>91</sup>

#### PART IV—VIET CONG WAR RESULTS TO DATE

The war of the Viet Cong has been raging since 1957, one year after the reunification elections failed to be held. It was the purpose of this section to ascertain the measure of Viet Cong progress to date.

The results, in summary, indicate that the picture so far is a mixed one: that while the Viet Cong has made definite progress toward the conquest of all of South Vietnam, it has come into heavy resistance in its attempts to conclude this conquest by the U.S. buildup to date; that while the U.S. has attempted to reduce the extent of the aid to Viet Cong through North Vietnam by its bombings, the results to date indicate that it has not yet accomplished this while the bombings have given rise to one other set of factors that may turn out to be equally important.

With regard to the U.S. bombings, it should be held in mind that the full impact of such a campaign frequently is not felt until sometime after the campaign has been initiated. As in the European Theater of World War II, there can be a substantial "lag-time" between the onset of a bombing campaign and the manifestation of its results. Therefore, the fact that, to date, the bombing campaign has not reduced the extent of North Vietnamese infiltration does not necessarily mean that this is the final evaluation of this campaign.

#### Viet Cong control in South Vietnam

Since 1957, when the war of the Viet Cong first began, guerrilla forces have steadily increased their control over South Vietnam. From the beginning, VC control has continued to expand to the present time when almost all land outside of the major cities and over half of the population is in their hands.

In 1963 Viet Cong (VC) troops were able to live off of the land in 30 out of 40 provinces in South Vietnam; were completely self-sufficient in weaponry in 29 out of 40 provinces and were gaining as much funds as were needed through taxes and contributions in 37 out of 40 provinces.<sup>92</sup>

At the end of 1963 one-third of South Vietnam's rural areas was conceded as lying within the hands of the VC; one-third was designated as "no-man's land" and the remaining one-third was under government control.<sup>93</sup>

By September, 1964 half of South Vietnam was reportedly controlled by the Viet Cong.<sup>94</sup>

In only three provinces out of 43 were they not collecting taxes in most villages.<sup>95</sup>

By May, 1965 the VC were striking all over South Vietnam. They virtually "owned" the Central Highlands.<sup>96</sup> As an additional tactic they were using economic insurgency—blocking rice shipments to the cities to force inflation, interdicting and extorting supply convoys and applying clandestine pressure upon Vietnamese businessmen—to divert South Vietnam's economy into financing their war.<sup>97</sup>

In July, 1966 U.S. officials confirmed that 90% of the land in South Vietnam was either uninhabited or under Viet Cong control.<sup>98</sup> The Viet Cong presence now extended throughout the provinces of South Vietnam from the 17th parallel dividing North and South Vietnam to the southernmost delta area. Outside of the main cities, South Vietnamese control was vanishing; inside them, the number of pro-VC sympathizers was growing.

#### Viet Cong war of three stages

In the "primer" for Asian communist revolutions—Mao Tse-tung's "On Protracted Warfare"—a war of three stages is taught. In the first, the target country is "softened up" by guerrilla hit-and-run attacks; in the second, more conventional (but still highly-mobile) forces begin to take land in the rural areas and, in the third, the last strategic points and major cities are conquered by positional warfare tactics employed by conventional rebel troops. One way to measure the progress of this kind of war is by noting the stage the rebel forces are in at any time. The Viet Cong now seem to stand on the threshold of Stage Three, their final stage. However, their attempts to achieve this stage to date have been thwarted by U.S. forces.

Stage One began in 1957 when the Viet Cong began assassinations of South Vietnamese officials in different parts of the country.<sup>99</sup> In that year alone, more than 470 such officials were killed; more than one a day.<sup>100</sup>

Preparations for Stage Two were in operation by 1960 when VC guerrilla units attacked their first South Vietnamese military unit of battalion size.<sup>101</sup> Simultaneously with this military escalation, other specialized political agents began the infiltration of rural villages and the process of converting them into VC "combat villages" that actively supported the Viet Cong in its fight against government forces.<sup>102</sup> Through a process of identifying and then manipulating the deepest grievances of the people, the VC were able to obtain their support in return for the VC promise that these grievances would be rectified upon the creation of the regime to come. As in Red China, before 1949, the most widely-felt grievances in rural Vietnam pertained to the monopolization of land holdings by a relative few, governmental taxation and lack of any influence within the governmental system.<sup>103</sup>

In November of 1963 the preparations for Stage Three were under way when the first company of North Vietnamese regulars crossed into South Vietnam in response to

the political confusion occasioned by the fall of Ngo Dinh Diem.<sup>104</sup> By September of 1964 the guerrilla skirmish had long since been replaced by the more conventional tactics of battalion-size units and, in preparation for the war's last days, heavy artillery had been moved into secret storage caves within South Vietnam.<sup>105</sup>

In April, 1965 the Viet Cong successfully staged their first conventional action against two U.S. Marine outposts near Da Nang airbase. In October, reacting to the U.S. buildup that was retarding further rapid progress, the Viet Cong resorted to human-wave tactics against larger U.S. forces. Although these failed to accomplish their objective at this time, by March of 1966 they were successful in overrunning a U.S. Special Forces Camp at Ashau with the help of heavy artillery and a force of 3,000 VC.

By June, 1966 the engagements were more and more frequently battles between North Vietnamese regulars and U.S. forces, with U.S. forces preventing any major VC victories.

In July, 1966 North Vietnamese regulars were massing for the first positional strikes upon two major cities, the capitals of South Vietnam's two northernmost provinces, when U.S. forces arrived to rout them. Stage Three was obviously about to be attempted.

#### Viet Cong strength

In 1961 the VC were estimated as having some 15,000 guerrillas,<sup>106</sup> only half of whom were armed. By August, 1966, this had grown to a force of 280,000 most of whom were armed. In spite of U.S. military actions, the Viet Cong have continued to steadily expand their forces.

By June, 1962 the VC was estimated at having 20,000 guerrillas.<sup>108</sup> By late 1963 this had been raised to an estimated 20,000 to 40,000 aided by another 100,000 "irregulars" who farmed by day and fought as guerrillas by night.<sup>109</sup> By August, 1964 the number of VC troops fighting in South Vietnam was placed at 150,000 including 34,000 regulars infiltrated from North Vietnam's army.<sup>110</sup>

By June, 1965 there were 64,600 regulars with another 80,000 support and guerrilla troops.<sup>111</sup> A little over one year later, the breakdown was: 110,000 North Vietnamese regulars, 112,000 guerrillas, 40,000 political (subdivision) cadre and 20,000 purely supporting personnel.<sup>112</sup>

#### The U.S. bombings of North Vietnam

Since November of 1963 the North has continued to infiltrate men and arms into South Vietnam. As one counter to this, since August of 1964 the U.S. has been conducting bomb raids against the North. To date, these have not succeeded in diminishing the flow of men and material from North Vietnam.

On the other hand, however, the bombings have caused a disruption of North Vietnam's society and economy that may subject the Hanoi regime to additional internal pressures and, in the end, do more damage to its cause.

In April, 1966 Major General Roy Lasseter, Jr., Army Deputy Assistant to the

<sup>88</sup> Fall, Bernard in *U.S. News & World Report*, September 28, 1964.

<sup>89</sup> From field notes made in Vietnam, Summer, 1965.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> July 3, 1966 *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>92</sup> Foreign Languages Press, Peking.

<sup>93</sup> Fall, Bernard, *op. cit.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Warner, *op. cit.*

<sup>96</sup> National Liberation Front report of Oct. 14, 1961 published by USIS as "When the Communists Come."

<sup>97</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Military Writings*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1963.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Chieu Hoi by Ed Meagher in *Los Angeles Times* for September 3, 1964.

<sup>106</sup> Georges Penchenier, a French newsman captured by the Viet Cong, writing in the *New York Times* magazine for September 13, 1964.

<sup>107</sup> Warner, Denis in *The Reporter Magazine*, September, 1961.

<sup>108</sup> Marshall, S. L. A. in *Los Angeles Times* June 7, 1962.

<sup>109</sup> From pre-departure briefing notes.

<sup>110</sup> From pre-departure briefings.

<sup>111</sup> From pre-departure briefing notes.

<sup>112</sup> From press conference of August 15, 1966 by Gen. William C. Westmoreland.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *U.S. News & World Report* for May 16, 1966.

<sup>90</sup> May 15, 1966 *New York Times*.

<sup>91</sup> May 13, 1966 *Time* magazine.

<sup>92</sup> U.S. AID study, March-May, 1963.

<sup>93</sup> Warner, Denis, *op. cit.*

<sup>94</sup> Fall, Bernard press statement, September 1964.



Chief of Staff for Intelligence, in testimony not released until later, stated that increased numbers of men and additional supplies were still being infiltrated into South Vietnam in spite of U.S. bomb raids to that time. "They still have the capability of getting all the ammunition, the weapons, the troops into South Vietnam that they feel is necessary to do the job."<sup>113</sup>

In April, 1966 it was reported that in spite of over one and a-half years of bombing, supplies to the VC were continuing to come into South Vietnam at the rate of 80 to 100 tons each day.<sup>114</sup> In May that in spite of U.S. bomb raids North Vietnam had actually added new roads to its transportation network<sup>115</sup> and in July that the infiltration of men continued unabated as did the steady movement of 15,000 trucks from North Vietnam.<sup>116</sup>

In his June 29, 1966 press statement<sup>117</sup>, Secretary of Defense McNamara reported that the North Vietnamese had upgraded their infiltration routes—some to all-weather condition and used by a minimum of 4500 infiltrators per month—that the North Vietnamese had doubled their truck movements during the first five months of 1966 over the rate for the same period of 1965; that the daily tonnage of supplies moved overland had gone up 155% and that the movement of men had increased 120%, increasing the number of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam by 100% of their number in 1965.

To meet the challenge of U.S. bombings, the North Vietnamese resorted some time ago to a primitive but highly-effective aerial defense system wherein a "highway production brigade" is assigned to each stretch of roadway and is employed in the repair of that section immediately following the departure of U.S. bombers. The bombers themselves are watched for by a system of aerial spotters who pass on their presence to jungle drummers who, in turn, signal road control crews who use lights to signal any supply convoys present off the roads.

Some 200,000 North Vietnamese are estimated as being involved in the road repair work.<sup>118</sup>

When, in March of 1966, U.S. officials were publicly debating whether or not Haiphong should be bombed, the North Vietnamese in Haiphong were moving the oil supplies stored there to safer depots in other locations; by April, some 10% of the oil at Haiphong's depots had been dispersed, some two months before the U.S. bombers attacked.<sup>119</sup>

While the bombings have not yet reduced infiltration, they have introduced additional problems for Hanoi within North Vietnam itself. Industrial development has been stalled, agricultural productivity reduced and the civilian population subjected to wide-scale social displacement that can only subject the regime to troublesome internal pressures. As a reaction to the bombings, Hanoi has ordered a mobilization of the civilian population and of the reserves that only further transforms the country into a garrison state. As one result of the bombings, the same degree of erosive inflation that has wracked South Vietnam's economy has now come to exist in North Vietnam.<sup>120</sup>

#### PART V—SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE WAR

To date, this analysis project has found that South Vietnam's assistance in this war

has too frequently been of a negative quality. This is not meant to imply that the South Vietnamese have not done their part: as casualty figures alone should testify, the converse is true. However, as the reports indicate, too often South Vietnam has not provided positive assistance in both the military and non-military fronts.

This negative quality has been singled out by this analysis more than any other: not because it necessarily represents the major component of South Vietnam's role, but because it is in this area more than any other that improvements must be made if the war is to progress toward its end in the shortest possible time.

Before developing this data and the findings from it, then, a note should be recorded in South Vietnam's Defense: many South Vietnamese have fought bravely and well against the enemy, many South Vietnamese governmental officials have been reasonably honest and efficient. It is these, more than any other, that offer hope.

#### South Vietnam—Saigon's effort to date

To date, Saigon's efforts have left much to be desired. In many cases it has been Saigon that has blunted much of the U.S. effort. The government is plagued with its own problems; problems that have continued in spite of some of the best U.S. attempts at teaching governmental reform. The South Vietnamese Armed Forces, especially ARVN (the army of South Vietnam), are not that much better. As the obvious has demonstrated to date, the South Vietnamese military has completely failed to militarily secure its own country. Among the reasons for this a general lack of internal discipline ranks near the top. Corruption comes next. At a consequence of all this, the record of achievement by the South Vietnamese government and military has been more a negative one than anything else.

In November of 1964, losses of weapons by ARVN to the Viet Cong had been double their number lost in July while desertions for July were reported as having been up by 50% more than they had been in June.<sup>121</sup>

In June of 1965 the South Vietnamese government was reportedly still losing the propaganda battle to the Viet Cong as its cadres were not going out into the fields to make the face-to-face appeals so necessary when dealing with an underdeveloped country's people. Instead, Saigon cadres were relying upon aerial drops of printed leaflets while the Viet Cong sent its men into villages to tell the same message for its side.<sup>122</sup>

In 1965 desertion and draft-dodging was still a problem. Neither was being sternly punished by the government. By 1966 at least this aspect had been changed and deserters were facing the prospect of death sentences as the government attempted to improve military discipline. Profiteering was causing yet another problem, hampering U.S. AID activities. In one typical example, Vietnamese trained as medical corpsmen were reportedly selling the U.S. medicines supplied them to the Viet Cong instead of taking them to their assigned villages.<sup>123</sup>

In 1966 it was reported that ARVN troops had been seized by panic when the Viet Cong overran a Special Forces camp in March. Their panic reportedly interfered with rescue attempts by U.S. helicopters to such an extent that U.S. troops were forced to fire upon ARVN to protect the rescue operation. Several ARVN troops were killed in the process.

In April of 1966 many ARVN troops were distracted from the battlefields, leaving U.S. troops to fight their enemy alone, as Buddhist-led rioting near Da Nang airbase

recruited the attention and participation of the South Vietnamese. At one point rebel Buddhist forces and government troops exchanged fire with each other, resulting in several mortar attacks upon the airbase itself. For six weeks, as the rioting continued, U.S. forces found themselves taking the brunt of the fighting against Viet Cong and reaping more casualties than were the Vietnamese. At one point, while U.S. troops battled Viet Cong nearby, young Vietnamese continued to march and parade with the Buddhists at Da Nang.

In June, the ARVN finally returned from the Buddhist riots to the fighting.

In July, the South Vietnamese government was claiming that it had the allegiance of 52% of the people; "up 4% from six months ago." At this rate, the report noted, it would be mid-1967 before the government could protect 75% of its own population.<sup>124</sup>

At the same time it was being reported that in very few places was there any effort being made to hold the land militarily won from the Viet Cong: that there were not enough U.S. troops for this task and that ARVN lacked "enough well-trained Vietnamese troops to act as a friendly occupying force,"<sup>125</sup> understating the more accurate fact that in many areas ARVN's past behavior toward the civilian population had been such that villagers now feared the ARVN more than they did the Viet Cong.<sup>126</sup>

#### South Vietnam—Chronology of political events

Since the beginning of its independent existence South Vietnam has been plagued with political problems that, following the fall of President Diem, gave rise to what appeared for a while to be chronic governmental instability. Since the inauguration of President Ky some semblance of governmental tranquility has been maintained.

On July 21, 1954

Republic of Vietnam gains independence under Geneva Accords.

In 1955

Ngo Dinh Diem defeats Emperor Bai Dai in election.

In 1961

Diem re-elected to second term. Taylor mission reports needs for reform.

In 1963

Buddhist-led riots rack South Vietnam (SVN); demands for reforms and end of Catholic dominance leads to coup on Nov. 1 led by Gen. Duong Van Minh; Diem ousted and killed.

In 1964

January 30

Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh topples Minh and is named new premier.

February 8

Gen. Khanh forms new government with Gen. Minh named as new Chief of State.

August 16

Military Revolutionary Council elects Khanh President with new constitution giving SVN a constitutional democratic form of government, but democratic provisions are to be suspended during the "emergency"; Khanh still to have dictatorial powers.

August 25

Khanh bows to popular demands, gives up title of President, scraps new constitution granting him dictatorial powers and agrees to dissolve Military Revolutionary Council; promises new government run by civilians to be elected by the Military Council which is then to dissolve itself.

<sup>113</sup> Hearings of the U.S. House of Representatives Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, released June 26, 1966.

<sup>114</sup> April 1, 1966 *The Wall Street Journal*.

<sup>115</sup> This has not been completely authenticated, however.

<sup>116</sup> July 8, 1966 *Time* magazine.

<sup>117</sup> Pre-departure briefing notes.

<sup>118</sup> July 8, 1966 *Time* magazine.

<sup>119</sup> April 8, 1966 *The Wall Street Journal*.

<sup>120</sup> Robert Elegant in *Los Angeles Times* for August 18, 1966.

<sup>121</sup> *U.S. News & World Report* for November 24, 1964.

<sup>122</sup> From pre-departure briefing notes.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> July 3, 1966 *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> From field notes.



August 27

Triumvirate named to rule: Khanh, Minh and Lt. Gen. Tran Thiem Khlem.

August 29

Triumvirate appoints Nguyen Xuan Qanh, a U.S.-trained economist, as acting Prime Minister for next two months; Khanh pleads illness as reason for not being able to continue leading government; Qanh says he is only holding government "in trust" for Khanh, who is still premier.

September 5

Premier Khanh orders political foes out of SVN.

September 13

Brig. Gen. Lan Van Phat, ousted by Khanh through orders of Sept. 5, leads four battalions of troops into Saigon and proclaims he is taking over government; Khanh foils the coup and names Maj. Gen. Duong Van Duc as an alleged leader.

September 15

Young loyalist officers who saved Khanh from coup hand out a 60-day, three-point ultimatum with threat of new revolt in two months if not met:

- 1) dismiss and expel all corrupt and dishonest officers, not just send them abroad;
- 2) dismiss and expel all corrupt and dishonest civil servants;
- 3) subject war profiteers to severe punishments.

Young loyalists are headed by Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky who says there is no disagreement between his group and the plotters of the last coup, only a divergence over means and that the two groups are now beginning to merge.

October 15

High National Council—handling transfer from military to civilian form of government—says planned popular elections for civil congress scrapped; members to be appointed instead.

October 25

High National Council names Phan Khac Suu as new Chief of State under a new constitution; Tranh Van Huong, Saigon mayor, as Prime Minister.

October 31

Huong officially confirmed by Council.

November 5

Huong appoints Khanh commander-in-chief of armed forces.

December 19

Armed forces leaders purge government, dissolve High National Council and state they are not against Suu or Huong; only that they are to replace the High National Council.

In 1965

January 27

Huong loses power to coup; Oanh acting premier.

February 15

Phan Huy Quat forms new government in place of Oanh with more Buddhists included; he is first northern Viet to lead as all previous were southerners following Diem; Khanh sent into exile by government.

June 22

Vice Air Marshal Ky takes over as premier as junta chieftain Thieu becomes chief of state.

In 1966

April 12

Amid large-scale riots led by Buddhists, Chief of State Thieu bows to popular demand for immediate general elections, designed to elect 50% of members to a representative assembly with the other 50% (from areas held by VC or in dispute) to be appointed.

April 15

Elections within 3-5 months promised, by September or October at latest.

May 7

Ky says he will stay in power another year.

May 8

Ky's censors remove his promise to hold elections from Vietnamese press.

May 24

Following Buddhist-led rioting, over 800 leading Vietnamese of all political hues gather in Saigon at a hastily-organized Congress of the People and Armed Forces to hear Ky report to the nation; ½ at this Congress military officers; rebels being quelled gradually; distracted SVN military units participating in riots.

July

Ky formally installs an 80-member council to assist him in running country; 60 are civilians and 20 are military officials.

#### The constitutional elections of 1966

In an attempt at furthering the political evolution of South Vietnam toward a more democratic form of government, a free election was set for September 11, 1966 by which the people of South Vietnam would choose 108 delegates to a National Constitutional Assembly.<sup>127</sup>

The Assembly itself would have no governmental power, other than that necessary to draft a new national constitution and under the election rules no one faction would dominate the Assembly which would be replaced by a true legislature after elections in 1967.<sup>128</sup> The Assembly would meet within 15 days of the elections to begin work that could take as little as six months to complete. The Military Directorate ruling South Vietnam would have the power to amend the constitution; however, their amendments could be overruled by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly. After receiving the constitution, the Directorate would promulgate both the draft and amended forms within thirty days or see the drafted constitution go into effect anyhow at the end of that time. Under the constitution's provisions, the Directorate will have three to six months to create the national institutions specified.<sup>129</sup>

Thus, the elections themselves do not directly produce a freely-chosen form of government: only the means to that end.

In an attempt at preventing the election from being successful, the Viet Cong mounted a heavy campaign of terror and harassment. Grenades were tossed in Saigon, mines planted near polling places and death warning squads sent to villages to advise the people not to vote if they wished to remain alive.<sup>130</sup>

According to a top secret directive captured from VC elements, the VC high command called for "complete and positive destruction" of the national election through these activities. By this directive, the VC was given three aims: 1) keeping the people from voting; 2) getting candidates to withdraw and 3) changing the election into a struggle movement that would accord with VC goals.<sup>131</sup>

On election day itself, streams of voters in the hundreds of thousands were reported trooping to the 5,238 polls in what became not just an election to choose an assembly that would bring into being a new form of government, but, more than this, a vivid anti-communist plebiscite on the part of the

people of South Vietnam who risked their lives to vote it into effect.<sup>132</sup>

#### South Vietnam—Record of the Buddhists

As a prime contributor to the problems of governmental tranquility, the Buddhists seem to have no equal outside of the Viet Cong. For this reason, perhaps, many have sought to label them as Communist-dominated or led. To date, the evidence available does not support either contention. They have obviously been troublesome to Saigon's rulers; however, their records show that they have tremendous political potential if their leadership ever fully matures and grows beyond the "agitation" stage of political involvement.

In November, 1963 South Vietnam's Buddhists emerged as a potent force leading riots and demonstrations punctuated by self-immolating monks against the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem. The government falls and the Buddhists stand as a new force in South Vietnamese politics. Within a month following their success, reports of further political moves by younger monks began.

In August of 1964 fighting by Buddhist-led rioters forces the government of Premier Khanh to drop its plans for absolute rule. In September, Buddhist leaders join students in pledging a two-month moratorium on demonstrations while a new government, that of Oanh, seeks to stabilize itself. A general strike on October 27 is promised by the Buddhists if democratic reforms are not brought in by then. By the end of the month representatives of several coastal provinces are meeting to organize a new national party of the Buddhist-oriented.

In November rioting in the streets flares anew as Buddhists reject the composition of the new government created under Suu and Premier Huong. A greater number of Buddhists in the Cabinet is demanded.

Following failure of the street riots to topple Huong, the National Buddhist Association demands that the U.S. withdraw its support from the Huong government. By December, three top Buddhist leaders (Thich Tam Chau, Thich Tri Quang and Thich Tinh Khiet) are staging a hunger strike against the Huong government while Buddhist fanatics ready themselves for self-immolation if the Buddhist hierarchy so desires. By the middle of the month, the hunger strike is called off and a truce sought with the government. Anti-U.S. propaganda, charging the U.S. with "selling out the Vietnamese people" is distributed by Buddhists.

In January of 1965 anti-Huong rioting by Buddhists begins anew. Speculation that the Buddhist goal is a negotiated peace with Hanoi and a neutral Vietnam is reported. At the end of February, a top Buddhist leader (Thich Tam Chau) is terming the anti-Vietcong war "fratricidal" and says it cannot be won by killing Vietcong as this is the same as killing "brothers." By April, when U.S. bombing on Vietcong positions is in full swing, the Buddhists are threatening further upheavals in response to them.

A year later, in April of 1966, the Buddhists have mobilized over 10,000 demonstrators at the U.S. air base at Da Nang, protesting that the U.S. prevents them from forming a Vietnamese national assembly. Three-thousand others at the U.S. air base at Qui Nhon join in demonstrations sporting banners reading "Foreign Countries Have No Right to Set Up Military Bases on Vietnamese Land," in key with a long-known demand of the Viet Cong to end the U.S. military presence in Vietnam.

As the riots and demonstrations grow throughout different parts of Vietnam and the intensity of an anti-U.S. theme continues to grow with them, mobs led by Buddhists chant that the Vietnamese government is a mere "U.S. puppet", a charge frequently

<sup>127</sup> William Tuohy in *Los Angeles Times* for Sept. 11, 1966.

<sup>128</sup> Robert Keatley in *Wall Street Journal* for Aug. 26, 1966.

<sup>129</sup> *Los Angeles Times* for Sept. 11, 1966.

<sup>130</sup> *Los Angeles Times* September 9, 1966.

<sup>131</sup> William Tuohy in *Los Angeles Times* for Sept. 8, 1966.

<sup>132</sup> William Tuohy in *Los Angeles Times* for Sept. 11, 1966.



made in Vietcong propaganda. While the riot leaders allege the recent dismissal of a top military commander as their reason for the disturbances, the Buddhists demand immediate elections for a national assembly and an end to Catholic influence in government. Meantime, rock-hurling youths are reported in frequent incidents of chasing U.S. soldiers down the streets of the larger cities.

Chief of State Thieu, a junta leader and a convert to Catholicism, bows to Buddhist demands and promises elections as soon as possible. Then the Buddhists go on to demand that the U.S. withdraw its support from Marshal Ky.

With their demands for elections at least met by promises from the government, over 20,000 Buddhists celebrate in the streets over their victory and the anti-US riots, many featuring the blocking of military traffic in the streets by Buddhist-emplaced blockades of family altars, ends.

Within a month, the Buddhists are leading new anti-US riots in Saigon, as mobs of screaming youths attack U.S. cars and set two afire while screaming "Da Dao My" ("Down with Americans"). In a few days the USIS library in Hue is burned and riots by Buddhists there force U.S. civil authorities to evacuate their consulate.

By the end of May government troops have been sent by Ky to Da Nang and Hue to quell the riots and appear to have succeeded. Ky makes a peace offer to the Buddhists and is rejected. Then the two sides reach a compromise that schedules elections for a civilian government September 11 and promise a larger role for non-military figures in bringing the country to this point.

In July of 1966, Ky makes good on his promise and appoints a new council of twenty military and 60 civilian officials to assist him in running the country for the time being.

For the time being, the Buddhists are still.

#### *A profile of two Buddhist leaders*

There are two chief leaders within the Buddhist movement. Thich Tri Quang, one of these, was born in 1920 in Ha Tinh province in what is now known as North Vietnam. He is 43 years old and is a monk. Originally, he was named Phan Von Bong and has adopted a number of aliases over the years.

In late 1963, while Diem's bulldozers were pulling down Buddhist pagodas and the South Vietnamese security forces were dragging Buddhist leaders away, Quang successfully sought refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Saigon.

In November of 1963 he was one of the chief activists in the Buddhist-led revolt that toppled Ngo Dinh Diem. In September of the following year he publicly emerged as a top leader of the Buddhists.

In November of 1964 he became publicly dissatisfied with the Huong government for not admitting what he thought were enough Buddhists to high-level posts. In December, he began leading a series of demonstrations aimed at toppling Huong which did not succeed. During these he personally began a hunger strike to demonstrate his opposition and his followers distributed anti-US propaganda.

In May of 1966 he was participating in another riot, this one even more anti-US. In the midst of it he reportedly phoned the Buddhist Institute in Saigon to tell it to tell Ky either resign or face increased bloodshed. Ky did not resign. Then Quang asked for President Johnson's help.

When this came to no avail, he launched a series of slashing verbal attacks against the President, blaming him personally for Ky's subsequent victory over the demonstrators and rebels and continuation in power.

During these same anti-US riots, it was Quang who ordered his followers to drag their family altars into the streets to block U.S. military convoys as a protest over con-

tinued U.S. support for Ky. At least one convoy was waiting to launch a major attack on the Vietcong. It was not until several days later that Quang finally cancelled the blockade, which drew bitter fire from some senior Buddhists.

Many Buddhists say he is a Communist. Vietnamese police say he has met with members of the National Liberation Front. After 1945, when the Vietminh seized power, Quang went to Hanoi where, he reportedly told a friend, "I studied Marxism." When the Indochina War began he fled to a communist stronghold and was later arrested by the French.

He has personally denied being a Communist. As if in support of this, during the large-scale anti-US riots at Danang in May and June, 1966, Quang reportedly turned down an alleged offer of assistance from the Vietcong to continue rioting. In April, he had earlier called for a "victory over the communists" according to Joseph Alsop, who also quoted him as saying, "no communist party can live in harmony with other political parties; furthermore, the nationalist parties in Vietnam are still weak and could not cope with the Communist Party if it were allowed to join (a coalition government)." He also was reported as favoring only those negotiations with the Communists that result from a military victory over them.

In an April, 1966 interview with Time magazine, Quang said he hoped the forthcoming elections in South Vietnam would not yield a majority for the Buddhists, but "equality for all". He also said that "being led or directed by the communists is the same thing as being a Communist" and there is no meaningful separation between North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese Communists.

Standing as Quang's chief rival within the Buddhist Struggle Movement is Thich Tam Chau, who recently resigned his position as head of the Institute for the Propagation of the Faith in a public demonstration of his disagreement with Quang's most recent moves. Said Chau in a letter to Quang made public, "I am opposed to bringing Buddha into the street," in reference to Quang's orders to his followers during the May-June, 1966 riots to block U.S. convoys by placing family altars in the streets.

A former colleague of Quang's, Chau has led the southern group of moderate Buddhists away from Quang in Saigon, leaving Quang only with the northern Buddhists centered in Hue. While Quang was launching his tirade against the U.S. in these riots, Chau was issuing a manifesto stating that U.S. troops are needed in Vietnam and that peace negotiations at that time would only mean a surrender to the Viet Cong.

Following the end of these riots, Chau continued his emergence as the head of the moderates by calling for an all-out war against Quang within the Unified Buddhist Church, the retention of Ky in the government and an end to riots by fanatics who seek noisy demonstrations and self-immolation. He proposed, instead, non-violence if further demonstrations are needed.

Whether, as some speculate, he will continue to rise in the Buddhist movement and eventually displace Quang is still to be seen. For the present he is making progress and continuing to gain the friendship, if not the support, of the government.

#### **PART VI—THE U.S. EFFORT**

Up to the time of this Report, the U.S. has not made the kind of military gains against the enemy its people are used to in a war in which it has been involved for at least five years. However, it must be held in mind that the full extent of U.S. involvement in this war did not develop until fairly recently: before 1965 the extent of U.S. involvement was of a minor char-

acter, after this time it became a major factor. Thus, if, to date, the gains have not been as substantial as many might feel would normally be warranted, this limitation should be held in mind.

Additionally, there has been one other important factor reducing the ability of the U.S. to make major gains. Aside from helping South Vietnam to defeat North Vietnam, the U.S. has also sought to contain this war from escalating into a major conflagration involving the super-powers. For this reason, each of its steps forward have been of a calculated nature. Wherever possible, attempts have been made to temporarily deny to itself fuller military gains rather than risk rapid escalation. As the data gathered in this analysis demonstrates, the cost of such a campaign is slower progress, but its reward is a lesser war.

#### *U.S. allies—Assistance and support*

For the most part, the United States is still fighting this war alone. However, as the war has continued, the extent of allied assistance has grown until, at the time of this Report, there are five other nations that also have troops involved in this conflict. Beyond these, other allies have made varying contributions to the U.S. effort.

Australia—March, 1966 Prime Minister Holt announces Australia will expand its forces in Vietnam from 1500 to 4500; it has had guerrilla war advisors serving there since 1962.

Republic of China—By June, 1965 it has 85 psychological warfare advisors in Vietnam; combat troops in huge numbers (45,000) are offered at any time.

New Zealand—was first to help the U.S. in May of 1963 with 25 army engineers, up to 30 by June, 1965, and 140 a year later.

Republic of Philippines—June, 1965 had 68 psychological warfare advisors in Vietnam; 5,000 army engineers and supporting troops promised; government collects public donations of goods and clothing for South Vietnamese; in February, 1966 there are 70 Filipinos in Vietnam as military and civilian medical teams; July 14, 1966, 2000 troops are approved by the Filipino Congress for sending to Vietnam and are en route.

Republic of Korea—September, 1964 had 130-man field hospital en route to Vietnam plus military advisors; October, 1965, 2000 Engineers there and 5000 marines promised; March, 1966 decides to raise total number of troops in Vietnam to 43,000.

Greece—Bans ships trading with North Vietnam March, 1966.

Japan—has six doctors and nurses there, sends supplies.

Iran—donating supplies

United Kingdom—West Germany—grants South Vietnam commercial credits

Canada—sending economic aid to South Vietnam

Malaysia—runs a guerrilla warfare school and trains South Vietnamese at facility in Malaysia

Official Statements of Support for the U.S. Effort received from—Argentina, Australia, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Malaysia, Canada, Netherlands, Philippines, Singapore, Tunisia, Sweden.

#### *How the United States became involved<sup>133</sup>*

United States involvement in South Vietnam technically began in July of 1950 when the first U.S. military advisors were dispatched to the French forces then battling the Viet Minh. Throughout the final stages of that conflict, the U.S. thought seriously of intervening as it had been established that a Viet Minh victory would be a Communist gain. However, due to disagreements

<sup>133</sup> Unless otherwise noted, this information comes from Eisenhower, Dwight D., *Mandate for Change*, Doubleday & Co., N.Y. 1963.



with the French over what the nature of that conflict should be (the French favoring the regaining of their colony as a sufficient goal; the U.S. preferring to see the colonies freed and the battle waged as a fight against Communism), the U. S. stayed out until the end of 1961 when renewed Communist advances finally forced President Kennedy to decide that the U.S. would have to make a firm commitment to President Diem of South Vietnam if Indochina was not to be lost to Communism.

In June, 1950 after the start of the Korean War, the U.S. began to send aid to the French fighting in Indochina. In July of that year the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory group (MAAG) arrived with additional French aid.

In December, 1952 President Truman authorized a grant of \$30.5 million to a defense program for Indochina plus additional funds for economic and refugee programs in Vietnam.

In March the U.S. Government conferred with French Foreign Minister Bidault as to the possibility of additional U.S. help for the French in Indochina. Bidault refused to commit France to any statement disavowing its intention to re-colonize the Indochina area.

In September, 1953 the U.S. committed an additional \$385 million to the end of 1954 to the French effort in Indochina.

It was President Eisenhower's feeling that the loss of Indochina to the Communists would also lead to the loss of Thailand, Burma and Malaya. At the same time, Eisenhower wished that more French troops were free for service in NATO. He felt that the French load could be lessened if the Allies helped French forces in Indochina, but he also felt this would be possible for them to do only, if the world understood that the war was in no sense an effort by France to regain old colonies—that it was a matter of meeting and defeating Communist aggression. France, however, refused to change from its primary goal of recolonization. As a consequence, the Allies, including the U.S., stayed out of the fighting.

Following the Geneva settlement, on July 21, 1954, President Eisenhower held a news conference and declared that: 1) the U.S. is not prepared to join in the Geneva conference declaration (and, as a result, the U.S. did not sign the Geneva Accords); 2) the U.S. will not use force to disturb the settlement; 3) the U.S. will view any renewal of aggression within the settlement area as a "matter of grave concern."

On September 8, 1954 as a direct result of the French defeat in Indochina the U.S. adopted an idea suggested earlier by British Prime Minister Churchill and signed the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty creating SEATO. The U.S. signed this Treaty along with France, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan. The pact recognizes that "armed attack" against any one of them in the treaty area endangers the peace and safety of all signatories and that, under such circumstances, each will act to meet the common danger. The mode of action was not specified. Under additional protocols added to the treaty, the treaty area was expanded to include the territories of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia as well as the territories of the signatories. The treaty also specified that in the event of something other than an armed attack upon one of these countries, the signatories agreed that they would all "consult" with one another.

By 1960, U.S. forces totalled over 700 military advisors.<sup>124</sup>

In January of 1961 President Eisenhower and President-elect Kennedy met in Wash-

ington to discuss security problems in Southeast Asia and, at that time, Secretary of State Herter allegedly told the new President-elect that if no political settlement could be reached in the area (especially with regard to Laos) that was favorable to free world interests, then he felt the U.S. would have to involve itself here. Ike reportedly concurred and said that if the Allies did not act with the U.S. here, he would favor unilateral intervention by the U.S.<sup>125</sup>

On December 14, 1961 President Kennedy wrote President Diem of South Vietnam and promised that the U.S. would "help the Republic of Vietnam to protect its people and preserve its independence."<sup>126</sup> By this time U.S. advisors had increased to 1750.<sup>127</sup>

By May, 1962, there were 4500 Americans serving in the military forces in Vietnam; officially they were there only as advisors, without a combat role. As one reporter commented, however, sometimes "combat happened" on "training" operations. At the same time, again unofficially, the U.S. was flying bomb missions and using C-123B cargo planes on crop defoliation spraying activities.<sup>128</sup>

At the end of 1962 U.S. forces in South Vietnam<sup>129</sup> had reached 12,000. The U.S. had definitely become involved in the Viet Cong war.

#### *Dynamics of increased involvement*

Following President Kennedy's written commitment to President Diem, the U.S. buildup in Vietnam began. It started with 1700 troops in 1962, now stands at some 290,000 and faces the prospect of growing to 750,000 before its role ends. This buildup has still not yet moved the U.S. much closer to victory as Viet Cong progress cited earlier in this Report makes clear. Yet, when measured against the magnitude of the job to be done, perhaps this is somewhat understandable: the task to which the U.S. has committed itself in Vietnam is not merely to militarily defeat an enemy on the battlefield, but also to win the allegiance of a civilian population that is sometimes involved in the conduct of the conflict itself and whose loyalty was lost by its own government long ago. Aside from this, the U.S. buildup has not yet reached its peak.

In 1960, as was just stated, there were 700 U.S. troops in Vietnam; by May, 1962 this number had increased to 4500; by the end of 1962 there were 12,000; by July, 1963 there were 14,000; by the first of 1966 some 190,000 following the "big push" beginning in 1965 and by the summer of 1966 there were 280,000 with a total of 400,000 publicly announced as the goal by the end of 1966.<sup>130</sup>

In 1963 the Administration was optimistic: in July of that year a "high Administration official" was quoted as saying,<sup>131</sup> "We have turned the corner in Vietnam." In October, Secretary of Defense McNamara said, "The major part of the military task can be completed by the end of 1965."<sup>132</sup> Two months after this, he announced he was rescinding his goal of "bringing the boys home" by the end of 1965. By this point, instead, he was telling Saigon that the U.S. would stay as long as it is needed.

In 1964 the problems still facing the U.S. could be clearly inferred from one of the documents circulated within the U.S. com-

munity in Saigon. In a "Team Working Paper" written in June of that year the U.S. was asked to confine its measures in Vietnam to that of friendly guidance; the paper reminded U.S. personnel that the Vietnamese were still to run their own affairs; the lack of effectiveness by ARVN (the military of South Vietnam) was noted as the paper called for it to become the "protectors and not the oppressors" of the people, casting some light on its reputation among the Vietnamese; the government of South Vietnam was said to need the ability (which the U.S. was to encourage) to get its members to view public service as a public trust and not as a private benefit for those in the government; ARVN, the paper went on, needs a big morale boost, it should be encouraged to start fighting the Viet Cong at night (which, obviously, it was not then doing while the Viet Cong were at their most active at night); punishment for the Vietnamese stealing weapons and selling them to the Viet Cong was suggested as well as punishment for the deserters from the South Vietnamese armed forces who were then being pardoned for their actions.<sup>133</sup>

In 1965 U.S. activity expands as the number of troops is given a large push upwards. U.S. ground forces end their strictly "advisory" role and are committed to direct combat with the Viet Cong. U.S. aircraft are given the green light to strike at VC troop concentrations within South Vietnam without waiting for official approval any longer. The bombing of North Vietnam had begun the previous August in response to attacks upon U.S. Navy ships in international waters by Hanoi—now a bomb line across North Vietnam restricting U.S. air attacks to a territory going no further than 124 miles above the border between North and South Vietnam has come into existence as the bombings expand.<sup>134</sup>

April 7 President Johnson gives his Baltimore, Md. speech and proclaims that the U.S. is fighting in Vietnam for the self-determination of the Vietnamese people, that Red China is behind this war as North Vietnam's sponsor, that "our objective is the independence of South Vietnam," that "we will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement." He goes on to say that the U.S. wants South Vietnam free from outside interference, tied to no alliance, a military base for no country. He says the U.S. is ready for unconditional discussions and proposes a Southeast Asian development program which, he states, the U.S. will sponsor and help to support.

Within two weeks the President declares that "we will remain as long as necessary, with the might required, whatever the risk and whatever the cost."<sup>135</sup>

In April and May Congressional furor erupts over free world ships bearing foreign trade to North Vietnam. It is estimated that 401 arrivals took place by such ships in 1964. Leading countries are the United Kingdom, Japan, Norway, Greece, Lebanon, Italy, Panama, West Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden—whose flags fly on the trading ships. Under pressure from the U.S. Government two countries involved, Greece and Japan, ban further trade runs to North Vietnam. Others state they will see to it that any trade contracts its ships have with North Vietnam are not renewed.<sup>136</sup>

In June, U.S. non-military efforts continue to expand as U.S. AID carried on a variety of projects to upgrade life for those loyal to the

<sup>125</sup> Schlesinger, Jr., Arthur M., *A Thousand Days*, Houghton-Mifflin, N.Y. 1965.

<sup>126</sup> Fall, Bernard, *Vietnam Witness: 1953-1966*, Praeger Publishers, N.Y.

<sup>127</sup> U.S. News & World Report for August 10, 1964.

<sup>128</sup> Warner, Denis in the *Reporter Magazine* for May 10, 1962.

<sup>129</sup> U.S. News & World Report, Op. Cit.

<sup>130</sup> June 9, 1966 Associated press

<sup>131</sup> July 15, 1963 *Newsweek*

<sup>132</sup> CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 112, pt. 11, p. 14530.

<sup>133</sup> Team working paper 8 June 1964 "Concept for Victory in Vietnam"

<sup>134</sup> February 21, 1966 *Newsweek*

<sup>135</sup> Johnson City, Texas speech by the President, April 18, 1965

<sup>136</sup> CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 112, pt. 7, p. 9266 and CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 112, pt. 8, p. 9976.

<sup>124</sup> U.S. News & World Report for August 10, 1964.



*South Vietnamese government.*<sup>147</sup> These include now resettlement and relocation programs moving Vietnamese from areas infested by Viet Cong (especially the Montagnards in the Vietnamese Highlands) into more secure ones held by the government; importation of U.S. commodities, the rehabilitation of former Viet Cong who have come over to the government's side voluntarily; rehabilitation of veterans, agricultural services including a militant Rural Youth program ("every member have a project"), home improvements, crop and livestock produce importation, agricultural experimental stations, importation of better soils and fertilizers, agricultural credit and cooperative systems, fisheries development, importation of better farm tools, irrigation projects, forestry projects, communication and radio projects, expanding electric power facilities, highway improvement and building projects, railroad repair, port development, air traffic control projects, public health (especially malaria control, more hospitals and trained medical corpsmen) campaigns and building new schools.

In July two SAM sites are reported ready for loading in Hanoi, yet no effort to bomb them has been made yet although plans for such a project are reportedly in existence for later use.<sup>148</sup>

In July a U.S. jet is downed by a SAM-type missile fired by North Vietnam.

Two missile sites are then bombed by 46 Air Force bombers, destroying one, damaging one other, leaving five others still in existence as it is reported that they are now semi-mobile.

A further loss takes place, this time in the diplomatic realm, when it is revealed that the North Vietnamese had requested UN Secretary General U Thant to arrange peace talks with the U.S. in late 1964; this in contrast to President Johnson's public statements since then that the "other side" had never shown the "slightest interest" in such meetings.<sup>149</sup>

In 1966 some reporters are asserting this is now a U.S. war.<sup>150</sup> Additional U.S. troops continue to pour in and, for one six-week period, their casualty numbers top those of the South Vietnamese as Buddhist-led rioting distracts some in ARVN away from the battlefields. At the start of the year, a pause in bombing North Vietnam had been tried as an attempt at encouraging negotiations. After 37 days with no positive response the raids were resumed.

Troop resentment comes with the battle of An Lao Valley, where a costly engagement is finally won by the U.S. and then cast aside as U.S. troops are ordered to pull out of that area and no occupation forces are left.

In April Cambodia begins to get some of the U.S. brunt as G.I.'s are reported crossing the border in pursuit of fleeing VC.

On May 27 Maj. Gen. Stanley R. Larsen, a top U.S. commander in Vietnam, tells a press conference: North Vietnamese troops are massing in Cambodia to attack South Vietnam. The Pentagon says the General is wrong and denies that his story has any authenticity. Five hours after the press conference, Gen. Larsen says, "I stand corrected." On May 28 U.S. sources are reported as saying that 10,000 North Vietnamese regulars are in Cambodia poised for a drive on South Vietnam. Larsen had only claimed that six North Vietnamese regiments were there, including the 32nd and 33rd regiments of the 325th Division of the North Vietnamese People's Army.

On the diplomatic front this year, U.S. activity has also expanded. In the begin-

ning of 1966 the President had "peace emissaries" traveling around the globe in public pursuit of some way to arrange a meeting with the "other side". In spring the *Honolulu Conference* takes place and ends with its Declaration pledging the government of South Vietnam to beating the Viet Cong, ending social injustice, improving the economic order and to establishing true democracy; the U.S. pledges to continue to prevent aggression, establish self-determination, attack hunger, ignorance and disease and to seek peace in Vietnam.

In 1965 Secretary of State Rusk had made it clear the U.S. only seeks a stop to the shooting in this way, not necessarily a declaration of defeat from the other side.<sup>151</sup> Now he tells the Viet Cong they would have no problem being represented in any peace talks that might take place, if they are interested in participating.

In June the eleventh annual meeting of the SEATO ministers takes place and ends with its members divided over Vietnam: the U.S. is joined in its attitude by Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand. France and Pakistan stand aside with the United Kingdom. France disassociates itself from the final communique and Pakistan divorces itself from the entire proceedings.

In July Secretary Rusk predicts swift reprisals against North Vietnam if it carries out its threat to subject captured U.S. airmen to a "war crimes" trial and warns the Warsaw Pact countries that it would be "unwise" for them to carry out their pledge to send troops to Vietnam.<sup>152</sup>

By late summer, this year, predictions of further U.S. troops numbers are being made. A total of 400,000 has been set by the end of the year. A larger total of 750,000 has been mentioned as the number needed to end this war in five years instead of the eight it would otherwise require with present U.S. strength; however, this estimate comes from a study that was reported from Vietnam and which the U.S. Government refuses to authenticate.<sup>153</sup>

#### U.S. goals in Vietnam

From the beginning, the U.S. goal in Vietnam has been the same: to foil Communist aggression as sponsored by North Vietnam upon another independent, sovereign entity, that of South Vietnam. Contrary to what some of its critics have proposed, the U.S. had yet to state colonial ambitions or any purpose that might result in its imposing its political viewpoint upon that of the South Vietnamese. The U.S. has sought to bring an ally only to the point where it is left alone by its neighbors so that it may work out its own destiny by itself. Further, the U.S. has flatly gone on public record and stated that should the South Vietnamese, at any time, freely decide that they wish the U.S. to leave their country, the U.S. will have no other recourse than to respect this wish.

The main statements of the U.S. goal in Vietnam to date follow:

December 14, 1961, as stated by President Kennedy—to preserve the independence and to protect the people of South Vietnam.

June, 1964, as stated by President Johnson—to keep this commitment by the U.S.

April 7, 1965, as stated by the President in his Baltimore, Md., speech—to preserve the independence of South Vietnam and the self-determination of its people.

December, 1965, as stated by Secretary Rusk on Canadian TV—to realize a Vietnam free of Communist aggression, even if it should then become a non-aligned country.

February, 1966, from the Declaration of Honolulu—to prevent aggression; to estab-

lish self-determination; to attack hunger, ignorance and disease and to seek peace in Vietnam.

July 12, 1966, from the statement by the President—to meet our obligations in Asia as a Pacific power; to repulse Communist aggression; to co-operate in building political and economic strength among the free nations of Asia.

#### PART VII—ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

At the present time, several factors touched on in this report may be about to mature and, by so doing, may be able to bring a United States victory in Vietnam closer to realization.

#### Possibilities for victory and loss

If the additional forces the U.S. has promised for Vietnam should be used to allow operations to begin that are designed to hold land won from the Viet Cong, it is altogether possible that South Vietnam can be militarily secured. The major limitation imposed upon the U.S. to date has resulted from the fact that it has not begun to hold and occupy the territory from which its forces have temporarily routed the VC in battle.

Since 1965 it has been apparent that the task of defeating the Viet Cong was beyond the resources of the South Vietnamese military alone. For this reason, U.S. forces came to replace—in fact, if not in design—those of the ARVN and take on the job ARVN alone was obviously incapable of doing. If this task is now extended, then the greater U.S. numbers to come may very well be allowed to also take on the final job required if the Viet Cong is to be banished as a military force within South Vietnam: hold land won from the Viet Cong, not merely win it while U.S. forces are there.

Politically, again, U.S. efforts may be on the verge of returning their investment. To date, the government of South Vietnam has demonstrated itself to be woefully incapable of self-reform. With the constituent elections, it is possible that a new government—one more representative of and responsive to the people—may eventually be constructed. Should this occur, then the tonic-like qualities of new people and new ideas may yet come to replace those of worn-out juntas and revolving generals.

Within the enemy homeland, North Vietnam, there are additional factors that may influence the war favorably for the U.S. side. The U.S. bombings, as noted, have not yet reduced the flow of men and material infiltrated into South Vietnam. On the other hand, however, they have just begun to give rise to internal pressures due to the social and economic displacements their continuation is causing that may, in time, force the Hanoi regime to alter its course of action or risk widespread civil disturbances that could threaten the very existence of the regime now in power.

Like other Communist states, North Vietnam has its own internal factions, one pledged to Moscow and one devoted to Peking. To date, the pro-Peking faction has been dominant. Conceivably, the rise of internal pressures coupled with a stalled war effort that cannot attain to its final stage may sufficiently reduce the influence of the more militant, pro-Peking faction and achieve the goal the U.S. has set for itself in Vietnam: an end to the fighting by Hanoi.

There is no guarantee these things will come about. The U.S. could still, in theory, be driven out of South Vietnam. If wide-scale rioting should be triggered by Viet Cong agents within the larger cities, the U.S. might have to evacuate these just as Buddhist-led rioting forced its temporary eclipse from the city of Hue. In such an event, a pro-Viet Cong clique could seize power.

Again, if the Viet Cong should agree to meet with U.S. negotiators and then, while negotiations are in progress, open up its artillery and place Saigon under siege (just

<sup>147</sup> From field notes made in Vietnam

<sup>148</sup> July 7, 1965 *Wall Street Journal*

<sup>149</sup> CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 25, 1966; remarks of Congresswoman Bolton.

<sup>150</sup> Denis Werner in the *Reporter* magazine for Jan. 30, 1966.

<sup>151</sup> Department of State release for July 20, 1965.

<sup>152</sup> July 13, 1966 *Los Angeles Times*

<sup>153</sup> Allegedly the report was written by the Marine Corps.



as the Viet Minh did to Dien Bien Phu while meeting with the French at Geneva), it is possible that a failure of diplomatic nerve on the part of the U.S. might cause its representatives to cede to the Viet Cong what the Viet Cong was not able to gain on the battlefield.

Whether or not these, or similar, tactics would work would seemingly be determined more by the degree of determination and cold iron will possessed by the U.S. than by anything else. And, to date, the U.S. has not shown itself lacking in these attributes. Thus, at the present time, there is hope for an eventual U.S. victory in Vietnam.

#### *Implications of the outcome*

As to the effects of the final outcome of the present campaign upon the major outside participants, the results differ with the stakes involved.

For both the Soviet Union and Red China the Vietnam war is a test of revolutionary strategy in the nuclear era. A loss by the Viet Cong would vindicate Moscow's assumption that in the technological age, such advantages as rapid mobility and superior firepower as the U.S. enjoys outweigh the greater numerical support North Vietnam's population base allows it to enjoy. Thus, Moscow's "way," that of international political competition masked as peaceful coexistence, would be advanced in the eyes of other would-be revolutionaries.

Conversely, a win by the Viet Cong would demonstrate that Peking is correct: that even in the nuclear era weapons are not more important than manpower. The reaction among other embryonic revolutionaries would be highly beneficial for Red China and her position within the international Communist movement would be correspondingly advanced at the expense of the USSR. In addition, a Viet Cong victory—i.e., the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam—would replace the U.S. with Communist China as the major political power in Asia.

As one result stemming from this, the embryonic war now in its beginning stages in Thailand would be certain to grow.

Again, here is a case of guerrilla insurrection sponsored by the desires of Red China.

Since 1964, "Free Thai" Radio has been heard urging revolt against Bangkok. Some suspect the broadcasts emanate from Red China.

In November, 1964 a manifesto was published by a Thailand Independence Movement calling, again, for goals that can only benefit Peking: a U.S. withdrawal from Thailand and the overthrow of the Thai government.

In January, 1965 Red Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi reportedly said, "We hope to have a guerrilla war going there (Thailand) before the end of the year."

By December, Peking was boasting that it had merged the two Thai revolutionary groups into one: the Patriotic Front of Thailand.

By May, 1966 assassinations of school teachers and rural government officials were on the increase: again, the first stage of Peking-style insurrection was being witnessed.

In summary, if Peking's side wins in Vietnam, Peking's promises of further expansion at the cost of U.S. influence—are sure to be kept. Unless, in Thailand's case, the U.S. wishes to desert a proven ally, the U.S. would have no other choice but to fight there, too. Thus, the loss of Vietnam would only be the prelude to a war in Thailand.

For the United States, then, the stakes are even greater. Should South Vietnam be lost to the Viet Cong, either by a military defeat or by a political withdrawal by the U.S., the U.S. would not merely suffer the loss of one allied country, although this, too, would occur. More important, South Vietnam's loss would bring the Communist nations

an increase in their international political power.

It was for reasons such as this that late 18th Century Americans cheered on the French Revolution: not to personally gain land and people, but to see a common political ideology expanded as a global factor.

If, through a win in Vietnam, the Communist nations can demonstrate that their ideology is continuing to expand among the governments of the world, the impact upon other non-Communist nations should be obvious. As with people, so with nations, everyone wants to be with the winner. The implications for U.S. security interests, in such an event, should be patently clear.

Thus, what is at stake in South Vietnam for the U.S. is the continuation of its ideology as a meaningful force in the global arena, and, from this, the worth of its allegiance and alliance to the other nations of the world. Upon this, in turn, rests the foundation of continued U.S. security itself.

#### *The United States in Asia*

The United States has been in Asia as a potent political force since the Open Door policy of 1899. When the U.S. first came rolling outside of its continental boundaries upon the world's stage, it was in Asia that it first acted.

The U.S. has fought to maintain its position in Asia now through one world war and one Cold War conflict. It is now engaged in another, yet there are those who maintain that the U.S. has no role in Asia and that Asia is the proper domain of Red China, a relatively new political power.

If the U.S. heeds the advice of those who counsel retreat and fails to successfully conclude the present contest in Vietnam, all that has gone before will be cast aside and its contraction as a global political force is guaranteed.

For this reason, if for no other, then, the U.S. must persist in Vietnam.

After Vietnam, however, there will be other Asian conflicts: Peking's pronouncements promise these and—at least in the case of the emerging war in Thailand—those who either fear or wish to befriend Peking are already at work seeking to forestall dynamic U.S. action here. If the Vietnam conflict is to have any meaning the lessons learned from it to date must be applied to what the imminent future portends.

First among these is that there is, in this country, a most vociferous minority group that would cede to Red China what its puppets in war have not yet been able to win for her, so far. Their counsel must be identified as that of a powerless faction if U.S. allies are to persist in their trust. Second among these is that decisive action by the U.S. in the earliest stages of contest can very well be more meaningful than later action that attempts to compensate for earlier options that were let to pass.

Finally, of these, and perhaps the most significant, is the one which relates to the unilateral role in which the U.S. has cast itself, for the most part, in the Vietnam war. True, as one part of this Report pointed out, the U.S. has been and is now receiving some allied help. For too much of this war, however, the U.S. role has been a solitary one and there is no fixed reason apparent for the U.S. to find itself in this same position in any future conflict, if the U.S. is willing to employ a more imaginative diplomacy today.

If the U.S. can meaningfully convey to its allies in Asia the impact of what would befall them if the U.S. were to fall in any contest here, it is believed this could lead to motivating them to pick up more of the slack in an area of concern that is properly theirs, too. Specifically, Japan, the Philippines, Formosa, Korea, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand could—in many respects—make a contribution that far exceeds the one they have made to date, if they wished to do so. Only a

reluctance by the U.S. to press them in this regard seems to prevent this from coming about.

What is, therefore, suggested is that the U.S. take these other nations in Asia that share a similar ideology and fashion from them a new military grouping, a Pacific Alliance, to meet the future challenges Red China's continuation as an expansively-oriented nation holds out.

SEATO, so far, has failed in this endeavor as a truly useful arm of U.S. diplomacy. Thus, its replacement by a more significant grouping should be sought. If this is not done, the U.S. will only have the painful choice between retreat from a future challenge or, again for the most part, meeting that challenge relatively alone.

Yesterday's diplomacy was determined by the events of Europe; tomorrow's politics will be determined by the events in Asia today. Beyond the sunset line a new diplomatic era is dawning, the era of the Diplomacy of the Pacific. If the U.S. prepares for this era today, it can successfully meet the contests of tomorrow. If it fails to move now, it cedes its future security to the actions of others who will not fail to move today.

In summary, the next ten years may very well turn out to be the Decade of the Pacific. What the U.S. does today will determine how that Decade now on the border of tomorrow turns out.

#### INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF GOV. TOM MCCALL OF OREGON TO THE 54TH BIENNIAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Mr. ERLÉNBOEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DELENBACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. DELENBACK. Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD I include the January 9, 1967, inaugural address of Gov. Tom McCall to the 54th biennial legislative assembly:

#### INAUGURAL ADDRESS

(By Tom McCall, Governor of Oregon, to the 54th biennial legislative assembly, Jan. 9, 1967)

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Fifty-Fourth Legislative Assembly, and Fellow Citizens:

The ceremonies you have just witnessed have given Oregon a new governor and secretary of state and have sped an outgoing governor on his mission in the United States Senate.

I join with you in wishing Secretary of State Myers and Senator-Elect Hatfield auspicious tours of duty and in paying tribute to Mark Hatfield's sixteen years in State Government.

No man has served as governor in this century as long as Mark Hatfield and, to the best of my knowledge, no man has left his imprint on so many state actions, policies and programs.

My earnest hope is that his successor will be equal to the challenges of the four years stretching ahead. An imperative of progress in these years is a rapport between the executive and legislative branches.

If differences there be, let them not arise from any fault in communications, and I pledge to you, for my part, to keep the lines of availability and cooperation constantly open.

In this hour we gather in a common dedi-



cation to the people of a great state. We are their creatures. Without their assent we do not exist as public servants.

To the extent it is humanly possible to do so, let us put aside the temptations to be guided by regionalism, factionalism, or anything which fragments the public interest. May we pledge to one another, then, to work, not in partisanship, but in partnership.

It is in this spirit I address you—and through you, our fellow citizens—today.

This legislature and this administration are to become perhaps the most closely scrutinized in Oregon's history.

I am not referring to the media coverage—as extensive as that will be.

My observation runs to the anticipations of the people in terms of the gross legislative product.

The pledges of the candidates in last year's hard-fought election led our citizens to expect more than ever of the process we shift into high gear today.

And a substantial number of these citizens are actually *demanding* more. Certainly in the area of property tax relief this is strikingly true.

Besides this clear and emphatic mandate, the voters expressed themselves as strongly in favor of steps to prevent the expropriation of Pacific Northwest water by the Southwest . . . to bolster safeguards against contamination of our streams, lakes and air . . . and to continue the balance of development of our economic, education, highway, recreational and institutional systems.

In my quarter-century of analyzing public concerns, there is no recallable counterpart of this wide, thoughtful interest in so many issues. Undergirding this attention, running through the consideration of every program—are the questions of cost, efficiencies and economy. And on these points one detects an intense public desire for proof that each tax dollar spent is buying one dollar's worth of good government.

In this hour of close communication today, let us consider together the citizen and his constitution . . . his governments . . . his rights . . . his intellect . . . the citizen and crime and justice . . . the citizen and his health and safety . . . his environment . . . his recreation . . . his economy . . . the citizen and the labor force . . . the citizen—tax obligations and tax relief.

#### THE CITIZEN AND HIS CONSTITUTION

There are many reasons for the so-called drift of power from the states and localities to the nation's capital.

To help bring the exercise of parts of this authority back to where it belongs, the sovereignty of states and people must be reasserted.

This calls for a reinvigoration of the problem-solving punch of state and local government. We cannot continue to wallow in a maze of disorganized taxing districts any more than our states can hope to progress with archaic constitutions that reflect the problems and mores in the heyday of the covered wagon.

Six years ago the people directed the legislature to update our constitution. I urge as a starting point for your consideration that proposal which was presented to the House of Representatives in 1965 with the following modifications:

Provide for a lieutenant governor to run in tandem with the governor, but not to preside over the Senate;

Create the position of controller for a six-year term on a nonpartisan ballot, the position to have audit and supervisory elections functions;

Follow the major bar association recommendations on the selection of the judiciary.

I support single member legislative districts, optional annual sessions of the legislature, a change in the signature base for petitions to a percentage of voters for governor, and tightening restrictions on tax spending.

#### THE CITIZEN AND HIS GOVERNMENTS

Quality in government is related to structure and the caliber of the men and women who provide the services demanded of government.

On January 3 of this year, I presented the Joint Ways and Means Committee some proposals designed to maintain and enhance competence of personnel.

One dealt with immediate improvement of the salary schedules of most state employees and another with their retirement program. I commend these to you for your earliest consideration.

You will also be interested, I am sure, in other recommendations offered at that time, to grant delayed increases in judicial and legislative salaries and a prompt increase in the per diem expenses of members of the Assembly.

In the area of structure, nothing is more frustrating to the citizen than the maze of governments which, though established presumably to serve him, sometimes succeed only in confusing. While simplification and pinpointing responsibilities are desirable as goals, one of the means toward better governing would be the establishment of an assistant in the governor's office to solidify lines of communication between the state and cities and counties and other local units of government.

This same assistant could help local governments in preparing and negotiating federal grants, stimulate local initiative in problem solving, facilitate cooperative arrangements with other governmental agencies and I would hope could bolster the defense of local units from arbitrary decisions by federal officialdom.

This administration urges rapid action on legislation to transform the Department of Commerce from a provisional to a permanent status. Assurance of its continuation at an early date will facilitate the department's preparations for an even more significant role.

At the heart of government is the entire election process and a complete review of our laws in this connection is in order. We must tighten reporting procedures, apply new standards to the Corrupt Practices Act, eliminate second class citizenship for teachers, and eliminate misleading provisions.

#### THE CITIZEN AND HIS RIGHTS

Maintaining the rights of the citizen is a thread that runs through numerous matters other than constitutional revision and election procedures.

In these days of technological advances, we must, for example, be ever vigilant to prevent invasions of privacy by the electronic eye or ear.

The very bigness of government carries with it the enlarged risk of blundering into people's lives. The bigger government grows under the demands we place on it, the smaller many citizens are made to feel.

One of the basic concepts on which our society was founded is the right of the citizen to defend himself—or be defended—against unfair, arbitrary, erroneous or capricious government actions.

So believing, I recommend that the legislature create the independent office of "Ombudsman." The occupant would be appointed by the governor to receive and investigate citizen complaints of public servants' unjustifiable inaction, inefficiency, arrogance or abuse of authority.

The system has worked well in Scandinavian countries and New Zealand.

The "Ombudsman" may criticize, suggest improvements in procedures, propose some specific remedy or reject the complaint. But he would not judge individual guilt or innocence, nor have the power to change administrative decisions.

Addition of the "Ombudsman" would offer the citizen still another protection of his rights.

Civil rights is a principle deserving of unflagging support, despite the rise and ebb of controversy. The lack of demonstrations on the part of Oregon's non-whites should not induce the apathetic belief that our state is free from racial disadvantage and bigotry.

Oregon's civil rights laws are adequate to cope with individual cases coming to the attention of authorities. The number of such cases, however, scantily mirrors the width and depth of the predicament of poor non-whites, and whites, as well, who are unemployable in a society which places mounting emphasis on human skills.

Employment is at the base of the whole struggle for civil rights. And vocational and technical training is the key to employability.

The Model School program of Portland School District No. 1 strikes at the problem in early life. The avenues for others of the disadvantaged must be widened by stepped-up training, embracing special courses and a vastly more inclusive state apprenticeship program.

#### THE CITIZEN AND HIS INTELLECT

This administration will discuss education in depth in a subsequent special message to the legislature following the completion of the necessary budget work.

We treat with basic school support later in this message—but suffice it to say concerning other major educational points that more emphasis needs to be placed on:

Encouraging expansion of kindergartens by the state on a non-compulsory subsidy basis;

Broadening vocational education at the secondary and post-high school levels;

Elevating Portland State College to university status and making it the hub of a vigorous, effective Portland graduate and research program, while recognizing the inescapable fact that a quality graduate program must be based on a quality undergraduate program;

Expanding community colleges to meet regional needs as funds permit and under a coordinated statewide plan of growth and development.

Broadly, we must, within our means, maintain quality higher education through a program providing at least one open door beyond the high school for every student.

#### THE CITIZEN AND CRIME AND JUSTICE

A striking parallel between muffed educational opportunities and delinquent and criminal behavior recurs innumerable times in the records of inmates of our jails and state penal institutions.

To go with strengthened academic and vocational programs at these institutions, the state's treatment complex requires an adult diagnostic center at the penitentiary . . . an indeterminate sentencing law . . . a more professional-type parole board, the functions of which should be transferred to the corrections division . . . and development of more halfway houses and group foster homes.

Expansion of the Pitchford Boys Ranch kind of facility for pre-delinquent boys is urgently needed. This would be consonant with the intensified efforts of the state to join in improving community preventive action against delinquency.

Skyrocketing rates of crime and delinquency also compel us to continue to upgrade our law enforcement complements—both in caliber and in numbers—and to re-analyze our court structure.

A positive step toward realization of a state police academy is possible through funding of a heating system for Camp Withycombe, to enable its facilities to be used for police training on a year-round basis.

Police training, equipment and personnel must be augmented both to protect the citizen and help officers to comply with new and more difficult interpretations of criminal law. Hopefully, progress along these lines



will reduce the rising incidence of criminal appeals and cases of delayed justice.

More criminal appeals and more civil litigation put the State Supreme Court at an increasing disadvantage. Its mounting backlog of cases makes it essential to act on one of these alternatives: 1. addition of two justices to the present court, 2. creation of a three-member Supreme Court of Criminal Appeals, or 3. initiation of a system of intermediate courts of appeals.

Also, the new legislature will be faced with a movement favoring family courts. Surely, there can be few detractors of the concept of one court—instead of as many as five—handling the problems of a troubled family whose complications may run from criminality and incompatability to alcoholism and mental illness.

#### THE CITIZEN AND HIS HEALTH AND SAFETY

Great progress has occurred in matters relating to physical health but we have but begun to become effective in programs of public enlightenment as they relate to mental health. We should concentrate efforts in helping emotionally-disturbed children for which adequate state facilities and staff are virtually non-existent. Continued improvement in staffing at all our institutions for the mentally ill and retarded is contemplated. Since more than four-fifths of our mentally retarded are not institutionalized, we should initiate adequate state research, education and training regarding the cause, treatment and community care of our retarded. The staffing of social workers in the schools would make significant contributions to our young people and their families. Expansion of community mental health facilities must be pressed.

The war in Viet Nam and the deadliest of disease take their toll in life and limb in what may appear to be unavoidable ways, diplomatically or medically. But the tragic destruction of humanity on our highways must rank as one of civilization's saddest indictments. This assembly would be well advised to update Oregon's traffic statutes by:

Reexamination of drivers every four years, with examination every two years for those over 65 years of age;

Requirement of specific licensing for school bus drivers;

Maximum speed limits on Oregon highways, varying from place to place and road to road depending upon engineering studies including type and condition of road, the amount of traffic and other factors affecting speed;

Expansion of driver education programs and providing that no one under 18 receives a driver's license unless he has taken an approved driver training course;

Addition of state police officers to the extent their training can be achieved;

Requirement that motorcycle operators and their passengers wear safety helmets; and, finally,

Establishment of more rigid standards on re-issuance of driver's licenses to chronic violators.

#### THE CITIZEN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

Health, economic strength, recreation—in fact, the entire outlook and image of the state—are tied inseparably to environment.

Water, air, land and scenic pollution threaten these and other values in Oregon—a state pictured in Oregon's first inaugural address in 1859 as "one of the most attractive portions of the North American continent".

Oregon still merits that description, but to continue to qualify will require:

Expansion of State Sanitary Authority staff and operating budget, both of which are more than 60 per cent below the "desirable" standard set by the Public Administration Service in its 1964 study;

Intensification of research into development of improved or advanced methods of

waste treatment, including disposal of solid wastes such as garbage and old automobile bodies;

State matching of up to 25 per cent of the cost for sewage disposal facilities for municipalities and districts, many of which face transition from secondary to costly third-stage treatment;

Amendment of sanitary districts' statutes to encourage and facilitate formation of metropolitan units;

Prohibition against dumping specifically enumerated materials into waters of the state under any circumstances;

Granting of summary abatement power to the Sanitary Authority to cope with flagrant violations;

Requiring Sanitary Authority-based building permits to check the possibility of water and air pollution from proposed industrial facilities.

Provisions for much of the foregoing are made in legislation drafted at the request of your excellent Public Health Interim Committee.

In fact, we must leave no door unopened in battling the menace of contamination of our environment.

We must put an engineer on the Sanitary Authority and a sanitarian on the Board of Health.

We must broaden our perspective and involve the Western States Water Council in pollution control on interstate streams.

#### THE CITIZEN AND HIS RECREATION

Additional safeguards of environment are inherent in programs to acquire inland recreation lands, preserve more beach areas for public use, beautify our highways and augment our inventories of fish and game.

On or about March 1, I will send you recommendations for implementing the Willamette Recreational Greenway suggested by State Treasurer Straub and endorsed by me. Volunteer and full-time task forces are working up a program for this exciting development.

The Highway Department, in providing money and personnel for the Greenway study, feels it can share in this commitment now and in the future and still meet its other recreation obligations.

One of the most pressing of these is acquisition of beach lands. Few realize that the state owns Oregon's beaches only up to the median high-water mark.

The Department has launched a program to provide beach accesses every three miles at an eventual total cost of \$8,000,000. Legislation is needed in this session to enable the Department to obtain title to these vital lands through adversary proceedings.

Oregon's Game Commission has received no general license fee adjustment since 1950. Since then, the proportion of total income attributable to licenses and tags has dropped 10 per cent, and inflation has sheared more than 30 cents from each dollar available to the Commission.

Higher license fees are essential to mounting adequately-financed management and research programs in an era of unprecedented demands on Oregon's fish and game. We should not tolerate further delay in authorizing the proposed fee schedule.

With these increases in effect, the status of fish and game populations can be improved—providing the finest angling and hunting in Oregon's history for an army of resident and out-of-state sportsmen.

#### THE CITIZEN AND HIS ECONOMY

The abundance of fish and game, the purity of water and air, the serenity of scenic open space—all tremendously worthwhile in themselves—are also vital economic factors in Oregon.

These contributors to Oregon's cherished liveability complement a natural resources complex that feeds the state's principal well-springs of income: forest products, agriculture and tourism.

The pattern of Oregon's economy, geography and population incidence makes ours a state on wheels. A 1 cent-per-gallon increase in the state gasoline tax is needed to help keep Oregon's highway system first in all the nation and to provide property tax relief.

The threat from the Southwest of expropriation of our most precious resource, water, demands a speed-up of our water needs study through additional funding. The governors of Washington, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming have personally assured me they will move to accelerate similar research efforts in their respective states.

As soon as feasible, Oregon must also initiate engineering studies to determine the broad specifications for irrigation works to open expanses of Eastern Oregon to cultivation.

Those who till the soil and furnish the staples of our table will make increasing contributions to the state's income in other ways. The recommendations of your imaginative Interim Committee on Agriculture are worthy of your prompt consideration, for research, marketing insights and trade must undergo further advances.

Throttling limitations on the Land Board in its administration of hundreds of thousands of acres of Common School Fund grazing and forest lands must be lifted. This can be accomplished through constitutional amendment or revision to provide flexibility for better management in keeping with multiple-use guidelines.

Your able Interim Committee on Public Lands has so recommended and has also prepared two memorials to the Congress.

We recommend your support of these requests to Washington to clarify federal land trading policies and review the allowable timber cut on federal lands in the state. There is abundant evidence that these timber resources can withstand a heavier harvest without doing violence to sustained-yield principles.

#### THE CITIZEN AND THE LABOR FORCE

Unemployment compensation is more than just a stipend for the temporarily unfortunate. It must be viewed as insurance guaranteeing that families will not have to seek out welfare due to temporary loss of employment. Two immediate changes are necessary to make Oregon's unemployment compensation program more actuarially sound: 1. We need to modify the schedule of rates for employers to provide for eight levels rather than four; and 2. We need to develop a sliding-scale concept of payments whereby a percentage of the state average wage or the recipient's average wage, whichever is lower, would be considered the minimum base. This flexibility is essential if we are to avoid repeated legislative controversy and meet changing conditions.

Any controversy between management and labor, or any dislocation that strains employment relations creates a hardship on Oregon's economy and an inconvenience to the public that can drastically affect our state. It is therefore incumbent upon state government to provide more workable machinery in the area of employment relations. This administration proposes the creation of an Oregon Employment Relations Agency where the administration of all employee-employer laws would be centralized. This agency would be empowered to establish election procedures, to regulate employment practices and to provide counsel in employment disputes. It would also be empowered to undertake fact-finding procedures as a method of resolving disputes.

#### THE CITIZEN—TAX OBLIGATIONS AND TAX RELIEF

Despite the 1966 dip in our forest products revenue, a strong, increasingly diversified economy has supported state government services at an ever-rising level.

But for too many years Oregon educators,



citizens and politicians have given lip service to the goal of 50 per cent state support of primary and secondary education.

For too many years no significant progress has been made toward that objective and the burden has fallen more heavily on the property taxpayer.

It is time to act.

This administration's budget proposes a state-supported program providing slightly less than \$600 per child in the next school year and slightly more than \$600 per child in the ensuing school year.

Half of this amount would be distributed by means of a basic grant for each pupil. The other half would come from a combination of state and local funds geared to local needs and resources.

This program, together with existing federal programs, appears adequate to meet particular responsibilities of Oregon's largest school district with its concentration of disadvantaged children. Were it not so, a special grant program to deal with that problem would be recommended.

Likewise, the costs of transportation can be encompassed in this basic proposal without recourse to special grants.

Further, there will be no need for continuation of existing county and intermediate school levies.

Thus we arrive at a simple two-part formula which together with the local districts' levy will supply adequate and understandable support for Oregon's public schools. In fact, the state's share of this support would represent an increase of \$150,000,000 in the coming biennium.

For all but a handful of school districts, principally those that have not reorganized, the existing level of operations and normal growth can be funded with a maximum levy of 1 per cent of market value of taxable property.

This administration, therefore, proposes that such a limit be established for property taxes for school operating purposes.

Let me say to my friends in education that I could not espouse an increase of \$150,000,000 in basic school support without the imposition of such a limitation.

Upon this solid foundation of property tax relief other less consequential but still important blocks of state aid will be directed to cities and counties.

The programs, responsibilities and sizes of local taxing units, other than schools, vary too greatly to make any percentage limitation on their property taxes appropriate. It is feasible, however, to encourage their recourse to user charges and other non-property tax sources.

To that end this administration recommends repeal of the Constitutional provision allowing an automatic 6 per cent increase in tax base each year.

Local units should be required to present any increase in property taxes to a vote of the people at the time of the statewide primary or general election or at a special election to be held at a uniform date each year.

Funding of the foregoing program of school support and property tax relief can be accomplished with additional state revenues approximating \$35,000,000 a year.

Only if the legislature wishes to grant much more substantial property tax relief can there be justification for the Assembly to refer a sales tax to the people.

This administration's proposals, however, permit state government to adhere to its traditional revenue mainstay, the income tax. By having exercised prudence in our budgetary review, we have been able to propose property tax relief far in excess of increased income taxes recommended.

We propose only an approximate 15 per cent increase in the income tax. At the same time we would lighten the worry and bother on the individual of coping with income tax forms and administration. We would do this by having most income tax-

payers report simply the taxable income shown on their federal return together with the computation of state tax.

Those with larger and more complex incomes would use the same brief state form but accompany it with a copy of their federal income tax return. No long, involved state return will be required.

Since business is a larger proportionate beneficiary of property tax relief than the average individual, we propose a one-third increase in corporate income and excise taxes.

A detailed message on the subjects covered under this heading will be presented to the Assembly shortly. Included will be tables showing the distribution of state aid to each school district, precise budget figures, schedules displaying the impact of tax changes, and relevant draft legislation.

#### THE UNSPOKEN ISSUE

The problems and opportunities outlined to you are weighty indeed. But as forbidding as some of them may appear, we who are on the home front have as the unspoken issue on our hearts and minds those men serving to preserve our way of life in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

Legislation has been provided which makes state educational benefits available to Oregon veterans who earn the American Expeditionary Medal. Benefits should be extended by constitutional means so that these same new veterans could qualify for the self-sustaining farm and home loan program which has meant so much to their predecessors and to the economy of our state. We can do no less in thanksgiving for their sacrifices.

#### THE OVERRIDING CHALLENGE

A few weeks ago I said "the overriding challenge—the umbrella issue—of the campaign and the decade is quality—quality of life in Oregon."

I respectfully suggest that the proposals this administration has submitted to you today will meet the challenge and further dramatize the significance of that issue.

Your oath of office and mine mark the moment of truth.

In these weeks and months as we labor together, as winter turns to spring, hope and expectation abound throughout our state that we will devote ourselves imaginatively and selflessly to the tasks at hand.

To this end I here solemnly vow—in the proudest hour of my life—to join you fully and completely in assuring the people of Oregon we will work with all of the talents and good will at our command in their service.

#### MESKILL OFFERS CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS BILL

Mr. ERLÉNORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MESKILL] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to continue the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; assign it the task of drawing precise ethical standards of conduct for Members of the House and employees by the end of this year, and, following House approval of these standards, to give it authority to hear allegations of misconduct brought before it and to recommend censure, or expulsion—in the case of a Member—or dismissal—in the case of an employee.

Over the past few years a handful of

highly publicized allegations of misconduct against a few Members of Congress and a few employees has cast a disturbing cloud of moral doubt over the entire Congress. Because effective representative government depends on the highest trust existing between the public and those whom they elect to serve them, it is essential for Congress promptly to establish a clear, unequivocal code of ethics for the legislative branch. It should be a code that cannot be misunderstood or circumvented and which provides for the swift punishment of offenders. Existing law sets strict standards of conduct for officials appointed to the executive branch. We should do no less for ourselves who are elected to serve in Congress.

My bill would create a Select Committee on Standards and Ethics, composed of 12 members equally divided between the two political parties. Its first function would be to draft precise and comprehensive standards of conduct for approval of the House. It would be given until December 31, 1967, to submit a draft to the House. Once the House approved the standards, the committee would act on complaints of misconduct on the part of members or employees. The committee would be authorized to recommend censure or expulsion of those found guilty. The committee would also report violations of law to appropriate Federal and State authorities.

Any effective standard of conduct in my opinion should bar members and employees of Congress, their immediate families and their business associates from receiving any compensation, except their salaries, from performance of their jobs. They should not do any business with the Federal Government either in their own names or in the names of their immediate families or business associates which results in personal gain. In short, no person holding public trust should be permitted to use that trust for personal gain, whether in money, free transportation or lodging or gifts of merchandise above a nominal value.

This bill is offered in the knowledge that the vast majority of those who serve in Congress and who serve the Congress are honorable and upright but also in the knowledge that it is necessary not only to be right but also to appear right.

#### THE 104TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Mr. ERLÉNORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DERWINSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, 104 years ago, on January 22, 1863, the people of Poland revolted against the autocratic rule of Czarist Russia. Although they fought heroically against far superior manpower, they failed, but the people of Poland persevered and finally achieved their independence in 1918.



This historic event has special significance at the present time because of the current Communist dictatorship of the Soviet Union, which is substantially more diabolical than the Czarist regime. The Soviet Union actually holds Poland in bondage through the Communist regime which Russian military forces installed at the close of World War II.

On this, the 104th anniversary of the Polish struggle for freedom against the Czars, we encourage the brave people of Poland to remember that the defeat of that year was ultimately rewarded in independence, thus demonstrating the perseverance of the Polish people and the righteousness of their cause. Certainly, this historic perseverance and quest for freedom will again produce a government based on the true wishes of the Polish people.

The continued belligerence of the Communist regime against the Catholic Church has a historic parallel in the persecution which the oppressors of Poland pressed against the faith of the Poles in the 19th century.

It is especially ironic that the present State Department policy is to make trade and political concessions to the Warsaw regime, thus directly sustaining it in power. It would be a far more practical thing to apply pressure that we have at our disposal to bring about an improvement in the standard of living of the Polish people and not to coexist with the dictators in Warsaw until they grant religious and political freedom to the Polish people. I should also mention, Mr. Speaker, that the regime that persecutes the Polish people is supporting the North Vietnamese aggression in South Vietnam.

#### SUPREME COURT INVALIDATES CONSUMER PROTECTIONS

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CUNNINGHAM] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on the first day of the session, I introduced legislation which would require that imported meats and meat products be plainly labeled as to their country of origin.

Legislation of this type is vitally needed in light of the rising quantities of foreign meats which are being imported into this country. According to the latest USDA estimates, meat imports will reach 960 million pounds in 1967, marking a 56-percent increase over the 614 million pounds which were imported as recently as 1965.

My bill, H.R. 432, would protect the right of the American consumer to make an informed choice in his purchases of meats. I believe the public has a right to know when they are buying foreign products—in the area of meats. This right is not presently being afforded to them.

There are even more compelling reasons why foreign meats should be clearly

labeled as such. It is a common practice in the meat industry to mix foreign and domestic meats together, especially in hamburger and sausage products, without giving the consumer the slightest indication of such fact. Often the foreign meat was imported in large frozen blocks. These blocks are thawed, mixed with American meats, and then sold to the public as fresh meat. Consequently, the meat is frequently refrozen. Clearly, the freezing, thawing, refreezing process could constitute a danger to one's health. The public has a right to know of such facts.

Seventeen States have passed legislation regulating the importation of foreign meats. Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Wyoming have all acted to protect their consumers. At the same time, they have acted to protect domestic meat producers from the unfair competition of unlabeled foreign meat.

On January 16 of this year, however, the Supreme Court of the United States, in effect, held these attempts at State legislation in this area unconstitutional as an undue burden upon interstate commerce.

In the case of *Short against Ness Produce Co.*, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed a lower three-judge Federal court's ruling that Oregon's meat labeling statute violated the U.S. Constitution's prohibition against the States regulating areas of commerce of national impact. Consequently, it would appear that the legislation of all 17 of the above mentioned States in the area of foreign meat regulation are also invalid.

Clearly, then, the Federal Government must step in to fill this gap. H.R. 432 would provide the needed answer to this problem of growing importance.

#### AMERICAN ADVERTISING FEDERATION

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. HANSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to have had an opportunity to participate last January 6 as a witness to the signing of an AID grant to the National Association of the Partners of the Alliance, Inc. A number of my colleagues were in attendance on the occasion of the signing of this grant by Vice President HUMPHREY and Mr. Edward Marcus, president of the national association, at a ceremony held in the Indian Treaty Room of the Executive Office Building.

I met Mr. Marcus on that occasion and know that the great talents and skills that he brings to bear on the national U.S. Partners program will be impactful and far reaching in inter-American affairs.

It is my understanding that on Tuesday of last week Mr. Marcus met with the leadership of the newly formed American Advertising Federation to discuss possible collaborative activities in the future. Mr. Donald A. McDonald, advertising manager of the Wall Street Journal, was elected chairman of the board of the new American Advertising Federation. I feel that the statement of Mr. McDonald on the new American Advertising Federation may be of interest to Members of the Congress.

Under leave to extend my remarks and to include extraneous material, Mr. McDonald's statement follows:

Since the AFA and the AAW are now merged into the new AAF all comments will be inclusive for the new organization with no attempt to separate activities by now historical organizations.

Both organizations have long, proud histories. Both organizations at the time of the merger were 63 years old. Both organizations served their purposes well. Both organizations survived changing times with varying degrees of success.

Over the past few years it became apparent to all of us who were intensely involved in these organizations that new direction was needed; a stronger organization was needed. A national organization was needed. It became evident that challenges were now national more than local. It will be to the everlasting credit of all officers and board members of both organizations that they recognized in time the gradual erosion taking place in our strength both from the standpoint of effectiveness and also financial.

It is with distinct pleasure I can say that over the past year our financial house has been put in order. Our structure has been strengthened and clarified and our manpower availability is probably at its highest interest level.

Our time is best spent discussing the future of our new organization for it is the future that will measure the wisdom of today's activities.

We could devote many hours passing out well deserved kudos to so many people responsible for moving us to our present position of solidarity. Having worked with them all and knowing them all so well, I know they will all applaud me for accepting my thanks and the thanks of all members of the association as a group rather than individually. It should also be a great comfort to you to know that all of those concerned will be on hand in the future to respond as needed.

While advertising's place in the free economy has changed little over the years, the climate in which it operates has chilled somewhat. In view of this in July 1966, the AFA instigated a program which was later approved by the Interim Board of the new AAF. It is called "Partners-In-Advertising Progress". Highlighted here are the basic points for our direction and future measurement.

1. To safeguard advertising against needless, unfair, and unwarranted restrictive legislation at the national, state, and local levels, that would unjustly and detrimentally curb proper advertising from accomplishing its highly essential and long-needed function in our free enterprise society.

2. To improve advertising and the environment in which it operates as a means of building greater public, government, and business confidence in advertising. To champion truth in advertising at all times and to provide leadership in the development of action programs throughout the federation to implement these objectives.

3. To promote better understanding of advertising's function and its contribution to our economic growth, so that the public,



academic centers, business and government will have a clearer perspective and greater appreciation of advertising's role in an expanding economy.

This "Partners-In-Advertising Progress" program has received great support from the advertising clubs and the corporate members. The increased communications occasioned by this program has caused a feeling of positive direction to be generated throughout our organization and gives a positive basis for future implementation as time goes by. In December 1966 at the New York Advertising Club with the permission of the Interim Board of the AAF, your Chairman issued "A Call for Unity in Action" to the affiliated associations of the AFA and AAW. It seems fitting to reissue it now.

We sincerely believe advertising, in all forms, is the voice of free enterprise and free choice. We believe good advertising has helped make this country economically great. Advertising is primarily a communications vehicle, but paradoxically, we do not communicate on our own behalf.

We have taken the posture of passive resistance. Each segment under attack reacts as the feudal lords did when their own particular small domain was threatened—they raised the drawbridge.

Our voice has been so muted, the legislators and general public would have difficulty hearing our side of the story with the most powerful amplifier. Yet we must take action. New legislation is constantly being proposed which is a detriment to advertising.

Taxes are being levied against advertising. Consumers complain about it. Authors, economists, and educators speak and write against us.

When politically-oriented, anti-advertising and anti-marketing government voices talk, they speak almost in unison and receive fantastic news coverage to the point where some of their names have become household words.

When advertising speaks, it speaks to itself, and the news coverage is limited primarily to our own trade press. What nationally respected champion of advertising and marketing appears and with logical and studied remarks, answers unfair attacks upon our very existence?

Is there no national figure in business we can call forth to do battle for us? We are being bested at our own profession and in our own arena.

Yet from every side is a call for action.

But present action of existing advertising associations appears to culminate in everyone stampeding in the same direction and winding up in a pile or in opposite directions alone. The ANA has an economist's study on the Turner Proposal. The AFA has an economist's study on the Turner Proposal, and I under the 4A's am also having a study made.

Wouldn't it be far better if the advertising industry as a whole had one study made—and that one a masterpiece—and a planned line of usage that would put the facts before the public and government in their proper perspective and expose any serious fallacies uncovered by the study?

This program, plus the idea of an open channel for communications, has been extremely well-received by our membership, and, I hope, by all affiliated associations.

To those less informed than yourselves, we could detail our many mutual achievements in creating and endorsing the American code of business practice, or the current educational advertising service which will give 600 colleges and universities direct access to a full selection of advertising materials provided and financed through the various AFA affiliated groups, or our sponsorship of the Harvard Seminar, and the proposal for a similar seminar at a midwestern university, or the numerous occasions when dedicated

leadership, from our advertising clubs and affiliated associations, provided truly heroic action for us across the country against unfair and adverse legislation.

As the newly elected interim chairman of the American Advertising Federation, the organization emerging from the combination of the Advertising Federation of America and the Advertising Association of the West, I invite the affiliated associations to join us in support of a truly unified Washington nerve center, and a unified national program.

"Federation" in our name is not there by accident. It was present in the old AFA name, and retained in the new to describe accurately the potential of an organization made up of your organizations, plus 180 advertising clubs, 35,000 advertising club members, and 1,000 company members. It represents an opportunity for advertising to truly speak as one voice.

This is not to say one association will speak for all, but to establish that all associations can speak through one. By its historical structure and its capabilities, the new AAF can unselfishly serve as your vehicle for coordinated communications in Washington. The structure of the American Advertising Federation is now such that it reaches as members:

1. A geographically balanced advertising population throughout the country.
2. Constituents who have access in home states to the legislators of this country.
3. Practitioners in all segments of advertising.
4. Other associations—as an integrated and necessary part of it.

The proposal in brief was:

1. Expand the Washington Office with the support of the affiliated associations.
2. Seriously study the possibility of retaining a registered lobbyist or registering one of our own.
3. Issue Washington Reports specifically tailored to the needs of participating associations.
4. Create a Study Committee made up of the leaders of our industry to study and then recommend lines of action. This allows us to multiply the thoughts of our best thinkers.
5. Create an Action Committee to implement the recommendations for the Study Committee.

The key word of our new association must be "Action."

- Legislative Action.
- Educational Action.
- Craft Improvement Action.
- Action for Truth in Advertising.
- Communicative Action.
- Action at the Local Level.
- Action at the National Level.

You have selected me as your first Chairman and I thank you for the honor. I will try to serve you well. In so doing, I must ask for your support. We must make it known that we are in being and intend to prosper.

We have structured the most potentially powerful force for the good of advertising ever created. We must now add meat to the bones.

We must make known that which we stand for and that we stand together.

Thank you!

#### SALUTE TO UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

Mr. ERLNBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCHWEIKER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, the quest for independence by our sister nations of the world is a cause we must never fail to support. It is therefore in the spirit of our own Independence Day, the Fourth of July, that I join my colleagues in marking another independence day, the birthday of the Ukrainian Republic on January 22, 1918.

The 1½ million Americans of Ukrainian descent, many thousands of whom reside in my district and in the Greater Philadelphia area, can have only bitter memories of that independence day. For Ukrainian independence, won in 1918 at the cost of a great people's struggle and will to be free, lasted only 2 years before the new Soviet regime crushed the fledgling Republic and subjugated its people again.

The spirit of Ukrainian nationalism runs high, both behind the Iron Curtain and in communities of Ukrainian people in the free world. Although the Ukraine was the first nation forcibly yoked to the Soviet Union, it has not lost its sense of separateness and its hope of eventual freedom. In World War II, we saw an example of Ukrainian courage and spirit when an insurgent army dared to resist not only the advancing Nazis but the returning Red army as well. Today, as any traveler to the Ukraine can recount, the people one meets on the street proudly call themselves Ukrainians and dislike being identified with the Russia that has held sway over their rich, productive land, in czarist and Soviet times alike.

Mr. Speaker, in Philadelphia, the birthplace of our own freedom, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc. sponsored an independence day celebration last evening. We in the House of Representatives must take note of this celebration and of similar gatherings held throughout the country on the same date. We must extend to Ukrainians everywhere our expression of admiration for their nation's courage in the face of Communist domination and our wholehearted support of eventual liberty for their brave homeland.

#### THE PROPERTY TAX AND THE PROPER ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION

Mr. ERLNBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, because of the renewed interest being expressed in the potential of the property tax, I am inserting in the RECORD, again, the text of a paper which I prepared and delivered to the Citizens for Educational Freedom at their sixth annual convention in Minneapolis, Minn., in July of 1965:



REMARKS OF HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, MINNESOTA FEDERATION, CITIZENS FOR EDUCATIONAL FREEDOM, JULY 30, 1965

During the 1960 presidential election campaign Senator John Kennedy on several occasions said "In the next decade we must double the amount we are spending on education." The reaction of most Americans was to accept this as a challenging statement and say "Amen." The fact of the matter is that the statement was not a challenge. It was an example of clever rhetoric. My reply in 1960 was, "Why is Senator Kennedy asking us to slow down? We almost tripled the amount we spent on education from 1950 to 1960."

In 1950 government, Federal, State, and local, spent \$6,507.9 billion (\$5,745.7 billion, elementary and secondary, \$762.2 higher education) (Federal, \$106.9, State and local, \$6,401.0). In 1960 government, Federal, State, and local spent \$17,788.3 billion (\$15,587.9 elementary and secondary, \$2,200.4 higher education) (Federal, \$622.3, State and local, \$17,166.0). In 1940 the corresponding amounts were: Total \$2,316.2 billion, of which the Federal accounted for \$0.047 and State and local \$2,269.2 (pp. 434-345. "The Economic Almanac," 1962). To obtain the full amount we spend in our society on education we would have to add to these figures the expenditure for private schools which seems to average with some constancy about another 20 to 25 percent of what is spent by the governmental sectors.

There is some indication that the rate of increase of expenditures for education in our society has slowed down since 1960. Total new educational construction, public and private, put in place increased from \$1,427 billion in 1950 to \$3,384 billion in 1960, while it has only increased an additional \$0.5 billion to about \$3.9 billion, in 1964. In other words, the ten year growth rate from 1950 to 1960 is 137 percent while the comparable 10-year growth rate for the 4 years from 1960 to 1964 is about 37 percent or less than one-third the rate we had been experiencing before the New Frontier took over.

It is noteworthy that the great increase in total expenditure for education is in the private sector and in the State and local governmental sectors. The Federal Government's efforts, although great in percentage increase in the past two decades amount to very little, less than 4 percent, in respect to the total governmental effort in our society in education expenditures and less than 3 percent of our total effort, government as well as private.

I think it is also important to point out that in addition to what we term educational expenditures the parents of school-age children bear many additional expenses which, if proper accounting methods were developed would be added to the amounts we compute as the expenditure made in our society for education.

I am not at all certain that the entrance of the Federal Government into the area of direct expenditures for education has been advantageous in increasing the total amount that our society spends upon education. From my studies in the field of international economics, I have advanced a corollary to Gresham's law, i.e., bad money drives out good money. This corollary states that government money drives out private money. I am now finding out that the Curtis corollary extends beyond the area of international economics to domestic economics as well. I wonder whether it does not operate in the field of education as well and whether there is not a further refinement to the Curtis corollary which states that Federal money drives out State and local governmental money, as well as private money.

I fully appreciate the pump-priming theory upon which Government money was spent

to produce an economic upturn in the depression of the 1930's. And to the extent that our Federal governmental grants in aid programs in their inception were on a matching fund basis there seemed to be some sound basis for accepting the pump priming theory and arguing that it would prevent the Curtis corollary from operating, and total spending would be increased. However, with the Federal matching formulas increasingly becoming more regressive with the Federal Government taking over the large proportions and the State and local governments taking over the small proportions, I suspect that the Curtis corollary may be in full swing. Certainly, matching formulas like 90 percent Federal and 10 percent local, as we see in the Federal highway programs, produce little pump priming effect. The primer is bigger than the well.

However, in spite of the increasing part the Federal Government is playing in the field of education, fortunately it still is mostly talk. The bulk of expenditures, as I have pointed out, has remained at the State and local levels, primarily at the local levels.

One cry for increased Federal Government participation is that the State and local governments are so hard pressed financially that they cannot assume the increased costs of education and the increased expenditures our society must continue to make in this area. Well, this is a peculiar theory in that there is only one source of taxation, I can assure you as one who writes tax legislation, and that is the individual human being. Governments, whether State, local, or Federal, are only tax collectors (and I could add, churches are the same) and then can collect taxes only from one source, people. The corporate income tax, as in any business tax, is a tax upon people—not upon some unidentifiable fictitious person—it is primarily a sales tax because every business, if it is to stay in business, has to pass the tax it pays on to the consumer in the price it charges for the goods and services it is selling. Maybe the investor pays a bit of the corporate income tax, but very little, and even if the investor pays some, we must remember that investors are people, too, and increasingly in the United States the investor is becoming every one of us.

So when it comes to easing any tax burden, I am not so inclined to worry about the tax collector—the State or local government—or the Federal Government, as I am about the taxpayer. I think of tax collection from the efficiency of the collection system—the efficiency from the standpoint of the taxpayer so that the minimum amount of cost goes into the collection of the tax and the maximum amount can go into the expenditure of the funds for the purposes intended by the governmental agency, in the instance under discussion, education of our children. I also want the tax collection for efficiency's sake to be pretty close to the agency of government that is going to spend the money so that there is a minimum of cost in transferring the money from the agency that collects it to the agency that spends it. Also so that those who spend have a better understanding of the cost of spending which they do if they are close to those who have to raise the revenues.

By these criteria the Federal Government is not a very efficient tax collector for educational expenditures. It is not even an efficient tax collector per se in minimizing the economic cost of the mere collection aspects. The Federal Government is merely efficient in hiding the economic cost of collecting the Federal income tax because it passes the main cost burden of bookkeeping, accounting, and collecting over to the private sector—to the individual person and businesses making out the complicated tax returns. But passing the cost of tax collection over to the private sector does not save the cost economically to our society, it merely avoids some of

the blame for the cost being placed where it belongs on the type tax itself and on the governmental body using it. The most efficient tax economically to collect is the real estate property tax, by far. All it requires is an assessment every 10 years or so and a yearly billing—no accounting, no time on the part of the taxpayer, and little time on the part of the tax collector. It is almost all done by mail.

Furthermore, I would observe that it is the Federal income tax that has come in for the greatest criticism from economists and tax theorists in recent years, as well it should. It is the high rates of the Federal income tax which has created the economic damage to our society which we are now trying to remedy by timely tax reduction, not the real property tax or the State sales and use taxes. Yet there are people who would put a further burden on the Federal income tax to raise the money to be spent for education and for other services which have traditionally been provided by the private sector and by local government.

Furthermore, the Federal Government not being the sector of government which is charged with spending the education dollar has the difficult and costly job of transferring the tax dollars collected to the local governmental agencies which are charged with the spending of them. As has often been observed, send a tax dollar to Washington, D.C., to be returned to be spent in the community and it comes back badly clipped. We certainly can cut down on the amount the dollar gets clipped when it is sent on its long journey to Washington and thence back to the community, but we must recognize that there will always be considerable cost in undertaking the round trip journey in the first place. And we may well ask, Is this trip necessary?

The answer is made that the trip and the clip are necessary because we need the Federal governmental mechanism to equalize between the rich and the poor States. It is said that many of the children who need to be educated are in the poor States which cannot afford to bear the costs of education while the ability to pay taxes lies in the richer States. Well, I have often sought to answer this syllogism. I ask, where are these so-called poor States? The answer to that question is quite ready, in the South, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, etc. I then ask, but on what basis do you say these are poor States? The answer to this is also quite ready. "Take a look at the per capita income of these States." Indeed, the per capita income in these States is relatively low. But then, I ask the next question, and the answer to this is not quite so ready. But these States do not pay for education out of taxes on income, do they? Don't they pay for education costs and community facilities of all sorts essentially by use of the property tax? If this is so, and it is so, let's take a look at the assessed valuation in these States which allegedly are so poor. Here we have the true answer. There are not really any poor States in the United States. The States so often cited are States where there are poorly developed and enforced property taxes, where there is a considerable amount of absentee ownership, among other things. Where the assessment on real estate hardly match the true value of the land and structure. These are the very States, by the way, which are digging themselves further in the hole by waiving property taxes for a period of years to entice businesses to locate in their area—on the assumption, I suppose, that having the payrolls will assist them to have a better tax base than one based upon property wealth. This is surely regressive thinking for the 20th century. This theory can be found entrenched in most of our Latin American neighbors and throughout the world and until the theory is abandoned I could argue, these societies will not move ahead.



No, there is no need for the Federal Government to get into the business of Federal equalization laws, although there is still plenty of reason for all the States to continually update their State equalization laws for education. And there is much room for counties to pass education equalization laws so that tax revenues can be spread from wealthy areas, measured in terms of property wealth to areas of less property wealth. Above all, there is ample room for modernizing our property tax laws and keeping them to date—which means, among many things, modernizing our zoning laws and keeping them up to date. No community can support schools or community facilities—except the very few unusually wealthy communities—with a property tax based heavily on home assessments.

I like to point to Crestwood, Mo., as an example of up-to-date zoning and assessment. Here is a new community—nonexistent in 1945, about 12,000 population. To a casual observer it looks like a typical middle-income, suburban bedroom community. Yet look at its tax assessment books. Look at its zoning laws and you have the real story. Seventy-five percent of its assessed valuation comes from industry, commerce, and the utilities, only 25 percent from the private homes of its citizens. It has fine schools, fine community facilities, ample revenues, and little debt.

Henry George extolled the values of the property tax further than I would go to the single tax idea and these values should be considered today. In America the real estate tax provides the money which is spent largely in increasing the valuation of the very real estate taxed. Build roads, schools, sewers, provide fire departments and police protection, and the value of the real estate and the buildings increase. The expenditures from the real estate tax go to and relate to increasing and preserving wealth. This makes a neat package and is the basis of the grass-root community growth in America. Furthermore, a well-designed real estate tax is a discouragement to the greatest of all economic sins—to hoard rather than to utilize wealth. A well-designed real estate tax system places an incentive on utilizing real estate to its greatest economic potential—and if a good tax system is established in context with up-to-date zoning laws and building codes, increased wealth flows to the community like from the mythological cornucopia.

Before I leave this extolling of the property tax, let me remind you of two things. It is the property tax which has responded nobly since the end of World War II—not the Federal income tax. It is the property tax which has financed the increased expenditures for education from a \$2.3 billion figure in 1940 to a figure now well over \$18 billion in 1965—not the Federal income tax.

Nor is it true that this cornucopia of our communities is running low or needs priming. The expenditures on education have produced what we anticipated they would produce in new and greater wealth which in turn increases the potential for the future flow. In spite of all the false propaganda to the contrary by those who denigrate progress in America to justify their desires to further federalize our society, educational bond issues are continuing to be passed by the local citizenry. The HEW statistics reveal that beginning in 1957 when they first collated the percentage of public school bond issues passed per bond issues submitted to the voters, only once has the figure fallen below 70 percent: 1957, 74 percent; 1958, 78 percent; 1959, 62 percent; 1960, 83 percent; 1961, 71 percent; 1962, 70 percent; 1963, 70 percent.

And I hazard a guess that of the bond issues failing many should have failed but undoubtedly most of these bond issues were resubmitted in an improved and corrected

form and then passed—a healthy situation in itself not duplicated by the process of local school districts submitting their needs to a political bureaucracy in Washington, D.C.

The second observation I wish to make is that the property tax responded in this noble fashion in spite of the serious difficulties it experienced as the result of the failure of the Federal Government to perform one of its primary functions, namely maintain the dollar as an accurate economic weight and measure by following sound Federal governmental fiscal policies.

The drastic inflation which occurred from 1946 until 1951 placed the property tax systems all over the United States in very serious jeopardy. The property tax systems are based, as I have pointed out, on assessed valuations. Most systems make the specific and multitudinous assessed valuations when the improvements are made to the land inasmuch as improvements amount to the major part of most valuations. Accordingly, most assessments reflect the dollar cost of making the improvement in the year in which it was made. So, in 1946, the assessments books reflected valuations in terms of the many years of the preinflated dollar. All new improvements, new homes built after 1951 went on the books in terms of the post-World War II inflated dollar. This process by itself created an inequity in the tax system to the owners of new homes and new improvements vis-a-vis the owners of older structures. However, the cost of services and goods—teachers' salaries and blackboards—went up with the inflated dollar. Therefore, the revenues, the tax collections, had to be increased, just to stand still, let alone to progress. However, increasing the rate of the property tax aggravated the inequity already existing in the base because of the measuring of new improvements in terms of the inflated dollar. Every community in the United States was faced with a very difficult process, difficult mechanically as well as politically, the process of reassessing all the property on the assessment book in terms of the same dollar. Over 80 percent of our communities have now done this and I would observe they are now in relatively good shape. A small percentage have not assumed their responsibility. Many of these are the communities, and some of them are sizable, which are creating a great deal of the pressure on the Federal Government, through its overburdened income tax system to bail them out. Yet these communities have it within their power to do exactly what the others have done, painful as it was.

I have taken a long time to get around to what I want to really talk about, tax credits in Federal income taxes for parents and others who pay the costs of education.

Let me state the case for this most needed reform in Federal tax law in my own semantics because it is usually presented, even by some of its advocates in the semantics of those who oppose it. This reform is in accordance with American classic tax theory; namely, that we do not tax money which is being spent for a social purpose which if it were not so spent we would call upon the Government to spend. Putting it another way, we know that when we extract money from the private sector to pay for the expenditures of governmental services we are going to keep that impact at a minimum. We seek to keep that impact at a minimum. We prefer not to tax industries on the wane, we prefer to tax industries on the rise. We prefer not to tax low incomes, we prefer to tax high incomes. We prefer to tax wealth not the process of creating the wealth. We do not tax money spent for desirable social purposes.

This is the tax theory of the tax neutralists. This is the classical tax theory in America. There is a new school of tax writ-

ers who are not neutralists. Because the power of taxation to effect economic results and to render economic decisions is so great and I might add so subtle these theorists advocating an old system as if it were new, seek to write tax laws to deliberately produce economic decisions—their decisions—to channel expenditures into certain areas supplanting the private decisionmaking process with the political process.

Now the difference between these two schools of tax theory may on the surface seem to rest in semantics because at times both place a stamp of approval on the same kind of social spending. However, I submit there is the world of difference between the two theories.

The first theory, the American classical theory, is based upon the assumption that the people own everything and that government, the servant of the people, not the people's copartner, the people's servant only takes that which it needs to provide the services the people have decided they wish to use the mechanism of government to provide for themselves. The second theory is based on the assumption that the government or the society owns everything and what the government chooses not to take in taxation is a subsidy to the people.

In our Federal income tax laws we have always given a deduction for donations to charitable and educational institutions. These new tax theorists say thereby the Government subsidizes these institutions. I say we give the deductions not to subsidize but rather on the theory that we did not wish to tax this area of endeavor. We as a matter of policy prefer to obtain the money to run the Government from other areas of endeavor. This is money being spent for social purposes which if it were not so spent probably would require the Government to spend it directly.

So the tax credit to those who spend money on education, which I advocate, is entirely consistent with American classical tax theory. If the private individuals do not spend the money for education then the people through their government would probably do so as a last resort—although I submit much more inefficiently.

Note also how this classical tax theory disposes of some of the difficult problems we run into when we use the Government mechanisms to raising the money through taxes and then spending the money directly through the bureaucratic process. Under the classical tax theory there is no problem of church versus state. The money is spent privately, not by governmental officials. A private person can decide to send his son or daughter to a public school, a parochial school or a nondenominational private school. If he has spent the money on education, that is the sole concern of the society which wishes to assure itself that the children are being educated.

The Federal administration has opposed the tax credit theory on many grounds, not one of which stands the test of examination. One current argument still being advanced is that Federal income tax credits will only help the wealthier families and will do nothing for the lowest income groups. I have given the answer to this many times. Here it is. Who are the lowest income groups? The poverty class, families with incomes of \$3,000 or less? Well, families of over \$2,000 pay Federal income taxes, so even some of the so-called poverty families will benefit. With a tax credit all taxpayers, high income or low income, get exactly the same dollar amount—which, of course, means percentage-wise a great deal more to the lower income group. Furthermore, these families not paying Federal income tax are only 15 percent of all families, so 85 percent of all our families do benefit. However, if we go further into the pertinent statistics we find that the families with incomes of \$3,000 or



less are predominantly where the head of the family is in the age brackets of 20 to 30. There are few children of school age in these families and practically none as high as secondary school. Of course, we find the lower income families in the age brackets of 20 to 30. These are the young people first starting out. We also find the lower income families predominantly in the over 65 age bracket. In these families there are practically no children at all to educate. Of course, this is so. These are the grandparents, the people on retirement. When we zero in on the problem we find less than 5 percent of the families headed by persons in the age brackets of 30 to 65 among the low-income groups where the school population exists. In other words, 95 percent of the families with children to educate are Federal income taxpayers and the income tax credit approach will assist them materially and will assist the local communities to collect property taxes without further burdening these very same people who as taxpayers are paying education taxes and as parents are paying the cost of raising the children who are being educated.

Since when is a program which benefits 95 percent of our people undesirable on the basis that it will not help the 5 percent? I would observe that the 5 percent are not neglected, but they come under a different program. Helping the 5 percent is legitimately and traditionally the area for direct Government expenditures, whether for education or just plain housing, health care, clothes, and proper diet, the necessities of life. The answer is that, of course, the Government at all levels—local, State, and Federal—is engaged in assisting these people on all their living costs, including education; and so are our private institutions, our churches, and community chest agencies. We tend to forget this.

I conclude from the series of shifting and unconvincing arguments advanced by the opponents of the education tax credit, which is in the nature of further Federal income tax reform and Federal tax reduction to lower the tax on money spent on education, that their real purpose is not, as they say, to get our society to spend more on education, but rather to try to redirect that which is already being spent.

I, too, want to raise the standards of education in our society. If that is the real aim in the minds of these honorable opponents and that is what the redirection of spending is designed to achieve, then let's move the dialog into this area. I will debate them on this issue as well as the issues I have been discussing. However, it is a different line of argument than that which they have been advancing. The question here lies in whether we raise our educational standards best by the utilization of our local school boards and school trustees to make the decisions or through the process of political bureaucratic judgment at the Federal level, then to be disseminated through the society, I personally believe there are places where the Federal political decisionmaking can be beneficial in the field of education but they are few in number. I would argue it is really only after the local groups have expressed a desire for assistance in somewhat of a consensus that the machinery of the Federal Government should be employed, not until then. Government is the servant of the people, not their copartner, certainly not their master.

#### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CERTAIN ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TAXATION

Mr. ERLNBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the *RECORD* and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, last November I addressed the Tax Institute of America during its 3-day symposium on the real property tax held in Chicago, Ill. I was most pleased to have this symposium set up. It is part of the beginning of the long-overdue comprehensive study of the role and potential of the property tax relative to other forms of taxation.

The property tax has long been neglected by students in favor of other forms of taxation imposed upon our society. It is my firm belief that proper study will reveal that the property tax—updated and tied in as it is with expenditure policies which increase property values—can continue to be one of the most socially useful and economically beneficial taxes we have.

For the interest of Members and others, I am inserting my remarks before the Tax Institute of America in the *RECORD*:

#### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CERTAIN ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TAXATION

(By Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, Missouri Second District, at the Tax Institute of America Symposium, Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 3, 1966)

I am very pleased that the Tax Institute of America has sponsored this three-day symposium on the Property Tax. For years I have been trying to point out that here is the Cinderella of taxes dressed in shabby clothes, with smutty face, keeping the household going while her much less beautiful and less productive sisters, in glamour clothes, go to the Ball. If only we would recognize the beauty of Cinderella, wash the smut off her face and hands, and dress her in just modest, but up-to-date clothes.

In July, 1966, the Brookings Institute published "Economics of the Property Tax" by Dick Netzer. In the Brookings Publications list description, it was stated, "This much-needed study is the first comprehensive analysis of property taxation to appear for over thirty years." This study is merely a good, but belated beginning of some much-needed homework. This symposium should help to move the dialogue forward.

Because of the neglect on the part of the scholars and of pragmatic economists (my euphemism for businessmen) of the property tax—the tax on wealth, and an accentuation of attention directed to the income, transactions and payroll taxes—there is a great deal of built-up prejudice and misinformation about it which must be cleared away in order to develop an objective dialogue.

The students' neglect of the tax on wealth and the accentuation instead of the taxes on various phases of economic activity, be they in the form of tariffs, general excises, profits, user fees, sales, "added value," or the latest and most regressive, the payroll tax, is the counterpart of a neglect by present day economists and political scientists in studying wealth itself and the accentuation instead of studying economic activity.

To drive the point home, I call attention to the fact that GNP measures economic activity, not wealth. This economic activity even if increased may be eroding, as occurs in periods of war rather than increasing nation's wealth. Increased economic activity can constitute a serious misallocation of economic resources which can result in a poorer nation. We must take more comprehensive and constant readings which includes statistics on both wealth and economic activity and their interaction on each other.

This Spring the Subcommittee of the JEC held hearings on a study by a group of six Doctors at the American University on the Nation's wealth. The introduction to this study of the Nation's wealth was comparable to the introduction of the Brookings study on the property tax I cited. It is the first comprehensive study of wealth in decades.

Early in the Hearings on this study I sought to drive home the point that it was quite limited, not comprehensive. It had to do with only the physical wealth of a Nation—a most important aspect of wealth to be sure—but not the greater part of a nation's wealth. The skill and knowledge of the human beings who compose the society is the greater part of a nation's true wealth. Skill and knowledge must be recognized as a capital asset and so treated. The difficulty of measuring the skill and knowledge within the society should never confuse us about this basic point, nor deter us from seeking methods of measuring it.

Let me illustrate some of the ignorance and prejudice existing today about tax on wealth—essentially the real estate tax—by referring to the general enthusiasm with which the "Heller plan" was greeted by politicians and some economists. This plan was to distribute (I am paraphrasing and I hope fairly) some of the "extra dividends" of the federal tax system (presently constituted primarily as a tax on profits) to the States and local communities in order that they could meet the mounting costs of local and state government which the "overburdened" property tax prevents them from doing.

The Heller plan is based upon two myths—I regard a myth as a fallacious argument that has been permitted to go unchallenged so long that its perpetrators use it as an axiom upon which to base their further syllogisms. The first myth is that the federal tax system (essentially income taxes, personal and corporate) has proven to be so efficacious that there is a "dividend" which may be declared. The converse is true. The federal income tax rates, I would argue, even with the 1964 cuts, are still beyond the point of diminishing returns and are still causing judgments to be reached for tax reasons rather than economic reasons.

In other words, the high rates still impede the full development of the present federal tax base (economic activity) and also stunt the growth of the ultimate base upon which this base of economic activity itself relies, namely wealth. The tax take is, therefore, less than it would be if the rates were lower and applied to a larger base. Even with the high rates and the increased base (in spite of the federal tax impediment), the federal revenues have not kept pace with federal governmental expenditures in recent years. The revenues do not even equal the expenditures when the model of full employment developed by the "new economists" has been attained. The result has been that additional government bonds (deferred taxation) have had to be marketed, creating insurmountable problems for the monetary authorities in keeping the increases of money and credit in the economy commensurate with the economic growth the society has experienced and is experiencing. The amount of cumulative debt of the Federal Government is so large that managing its turnover and its added increments creates serious problems of its own. The Federal Reserve System, leaning against the ever fluctuating economic winds, has been unable to keep either the interest rates at sufficiently low levels through expanding money and credit to meet the market demands for money or to keep the implicit price deflator from rising by keeping the amount of new money and credit in conformity with actual economic activity or increases in real wealth.

No, there is no dividend we can declare from the Federal Government's tax system. We are in a serious deficit. I would further observe that the vaunted efficiencies of the systems of Federal income taxes disappear



upon close analysis. The efficiencies are largely political, not economic, efficiencies. If we were to compute the economic cost to businesses and individuals in their being the collectors of the Federal income tax for the government, which they largely are, and add these to the costs of the IRS and of our system of Federal tax courts, we would find that the cost of collection per dollar collected is greater than for almost all other forms of taxation, certainly greater than the costs of collecting dollars from the real estate property tax.

The second fallacy is that the real estate property tax is overburdened. To establish this point, of course, I now must move against innate prejudice while, in discussing the first point, I had it going with me. No taxpayer thinks any tax or tax system is not an overburden. However, the property tax has certainly responded in a remarkable fashion since World War Two in providing the revenues for building and maintaining schools, streets, sewer lines and disposal plants, etc. and rendering expanded services to the community in policing, fire prevention, education, etc. But because it has expanded greatly and rapidly does not warrant the conclusion *per se* that it is overextended. It might warrant the opposite conclusion. One test to reach a proper determination is: Has the wealth which is its base expanded more rapidly than the tax? Have the benefit: cost ratios proven to be economically sound? Wealth, particularly related to these expenditures, actually has increased more during this post-war period than GNP income activity. Another test is found in the fact that the community bond issues for schools, sewers, streets, parks and other community facilities are consistently voted affirmatively in over 70% of the submissions and many of the 20-odd percent bond issues which are rejected are then restructured and resubmitted, at which time they then receive an affirmative vote. The ratio of debt to wealth of the States and local communities has decreased markedly since World War Two in a commendable fashion, albeit debt itself was rising rapidly. It is to be noted that on the contrary the ratio of federal debt to federal wealth has had a very disturbing incline and today is a negative ratio and at a very dangerous level.<sup>1</sup> Yet, local and State debt in aggregate, not ratio, have increased more rapidly since World War Two than has federal debt. Nor is it any consolation that federal debt as a ratio of state and local debt, or of private debt, is less today than it was in 1946, and 1946 is a poor year to pick as a benchmark. We are merely seeing an adjustment back from World War II federal expansion to what is peacetime and growth normalcy.

The following should not have to be said of United States Tax policy, but I find the myths to be so strong that it must be said. In evaluating the political and economic structure of any society, it is necessary to consider the total taxes of the society, not just the tax policy of the central govern-

ment. For many societies around the world today, a study of the central government tax system constitutes a complete study because there is no system of local and state government taxation. It is all central government. This is true, not just of the communists and other totalitarian states; it is true certainly of the many smaller countries where there is not the need to have three tiers of government, and it is true of some of the larger states which, through history or rationality, have concentrated the power to tax in the central government.

It certainly is not true of the United States. Throughout most of our history the local government units have raised considerably more tax revenues than the Federal government or the state governments. It has only been in recent years—really beginning with the financing of World War Two—that the Federal government has equalled the state and local governments in the amount of revenue it raised.

Much is made by the rhetoricians of today of the fact that since World War Two the ratio of state and local debt—as well as private debt—has gone up more rapidly than federal debt. The same point is made in respect to expenditures of local and state governments. The flaw in this rhetoric, of course, lies in the unstated, but very basic, assumption that the year 1946 is one of proper reference, a year to be used as a guidepost, not a benchmark, to show us how far out of balance the costs of World War Two put us.

There should be a debate over what the optimum ratio should be. I would argue that the ratio which prevailed to large degree during the hundred years, 1860 to 1960, when this country grew economically very fast and very soundly, albeit with plenty of growth pains, is the better ratio. If this is a better ratio, then the trend since World War Two is merely one of the States and local communities moving back toward the more desirable ratio, however at probably a too slow, rather than a too rapid, pace, if we consider that World War Two ended over twenty years ago.

It, of course, is always a fair question to ask whether a particular tax or type of tax is productive, can be made more productive, is overburdened, is beyond the point of diminishing returns, or whatever. So it is perfectly fair, indeed important, to ask whether the property tax, in spite of its great record throughout the years and particularly since World War Two, has reached the point where it cannot be relied upon more heavily. This is where my reference to Cinderella comes into sight again. If the property tax has responded in spite of neglect, what might it not do if properly updated and properly administered? On the other hand, maybe it has responded well because scholars and students weren't picking at it and analyzing it and it rested in the hands of the practicing political scientists, namely the politicians. I do seriously worry about theoreticians, being a politician myself. However, I believe we both need the theorists and the pragmatists to move our society forward, and I think the property tax can benefit greatly from a systematic study and, based upon this attention, can continue to respond to the demands presently placed upon it and the demands which should be further placed upon it in both the immediate and the foreseeable future.

There is only one ultimate source of taxes, the individual human being. Federal, state or local tax systems are only different methods of extracting tax money from the individual person. He can be taxed on the basis of his wealth, on the basis of his economic activities, as a consumer, as a transactor, as an investor and, as has been recently developed, as a wage earner. I interpose, for emphasis, that a corporation is not an individual person. It is an artificial creature and,

therefore, is not really a taxpayer. A corporation, just like a political government, is simply a mechanism for collecting taxes from the individual person. It must include in the price it gets for its goods and services from the consumers all taxes it pays, if it is to remain in existence. Only in the death throes of a corporation do the investors pay part of the corporate taxes.

I do not believe taxation can be studied with intelligence apart from its twin in governmental fiscal matters, namely governmental expenditures.

There are a number of hypotheses about taxation which need to be expressed, studied, debated and either rejected or accepted as the basis for further syllogisms. I have just stated one such hypothesis. Tax policy must be considered in relation to governmental expenditure policy.

I have argued for the hypothesis of tax neutrality in tax policy, namely that the power of taxation should only be used to gain the revenues necessary to implement governmental expenditure programs. That axiomatically any system of taxation is bound to have some economic consequence, but the neutrality hypothesis says tax policy should strive to keep that impact as minimal as possible. Axiomatically, also, tax policy should be in accord, not in discord, with governmental expenditure policies.

For the governmental activists I hasten to state that the affirmative, as opposed to the neutral, side of government fiscal policy lies in expenditure policy. Almost by definition, governmental expenditure policy must be affirmative, not neutral. Governmental expenditures are designed to have an economic as well as social impact. There is plenty of room for honest and heated argument over expenditure policy; indeed, there is great need for this kind of above-the-board debate, particularly over the question of what mechanism in our society spends money more wisely for which types of objectives, government, federal, state or local, private, non-profit, private for profit, mechanisms or individuals.

One reason for arguing that tax policy should be neutral is the arcane way in which tax policy can be used to affect both economic and social results without above-the-board public debate.

Let me illustrate what I mean when I say that the neutrality theory of taxation requires that it be in accord, not in discord, with governmental expenditure policies. When government decides *through* expenditure policy or *would* decide law through resolution or public statements through expenditure policy that a certain endeavor in the society begin or be increased, then tax policy should be conformed to that expenditure policy. If, for example, the decision is made at governmental level that more money in the society must be spent on education and that government itself is going to spend more money and that amount will be increased if the other sectors in the society do not respond according to the need as officially determined and stated, then indeed tax policy should be conformed not to deter that private endeavor through taxation. In other words, money spent for education should not be taxed or, at the most, taxed lightly. If government money is to be spent in training and retraining the labor force and in other ways increasing the mobility of labor, then tax policy should—to remain neutral—not impede private training and retraining and private expenditures that improve the mobility of labor.

Good tax policy should always be directed toward areas where money can be extracted from the economy with the minimum of effort and the maximum of efficiency. Any tax legislator being a pragmatist knows that, if you can, you tax an industry when it is flourishing and you tend to lay off when it is on a decline. So it is foolhardy to tax an en-

<sup>1</sup> Total (physical) wealth of the U.S. in constant 1947-49 dollars (billions) increased from \$315 in 1900 to \$1,481 (\$2,223 current) in 1964. The total share of this wealth held by government increased from 7% in 1900 to 13% in 1958, but the total per cent owned by government decreased from +3% in 1900 to a -2% in 1958. The entire decrease was in the federal governmental sector which went from 0% in 1900 to a -8% in 1958, while state and local ownership went from +3% to +6%. Source: "Wealth Estimates," R. W. Goldsmith; "The National Wealth of the U.S. in the Post War Period," R. W. Goldsmith & R. E. Lipsey; "Studies in the National Balance Sheet of U.S. Tables" was written by Dr. John W. Kendrick for Morgan Guaranty Survey, August, 1966.



deavor too early. One should wait until it is productive. It is equally foolhardy to tax an endeavor which, if not flourishing, the government will spend money (subsidize it) to make it flourish.

I take the trouble to expound this point because there is a proclivity on the part of the political scientists who want "affirmative" tax policy to regard that which is not taxed as being a subsidy to that endeavor. I submit that the difference between this viewpoint and mine is a basic difference. It is not merely one of semantics. It relates to the basic concept of government. Is taxation to provide the revenues necessary to finance the affirmative expenditure policies of the government . . . or is taxation to be used deliberately to effect other economic or social results, either directly or through its impact on monetary and other economic forces? If taxation is for revenue alone, then government ceases to tax when it has enough to meet its expenditures and that which it taxes is that which is the easiest and most efficient to milk.

This theory is based upon the assumption that government is a tool for society to use; it is a servant of the people. The basis of social and economic endeavor is private and society advances as its components, the individual human beings, advance. Government only takes that which it needs to provide the goods and services the people have directed it to provide for them.

The other theory is based upon the assumption that government is society. That the two terms, government and society, are interchangeable. Those who promote this theory talk as if "society" owes something to the individual, which I regard as preposterous because the term society should not imply anything anthropomorphic. Society has no heart, no head, no soul. Society is merely a convenient term to describe the people and the bundle of institutions, mores and customs the particular generations then on earth maintain. Government is merely one of these institutions. To say that government owes something or, putting it the other way around, that people have "rights" to certain things from government and/or society, is to present a dream world which actually will thwart a society from improving government and its other institutions, as well as its mores and customs.

To assume that all the endeavors of the people in a society belong to the governmental institutions maintained in the society and that, therefore, anything government does not take in the way of taxes is a "subsidy" is as unsound as the Pope Alexander VI edict dividing the "new" world (new to the Pope and Western Europeans) between Spain and Portugal.

I think, more by accident rather than design, our American society developed a sound system of fiscal policy for the three tiers of government which proved to be admirably successful and, I think, provided a structure which is sufficiently flexible to produce more and greater advancements.

Essentially the Federal Government took over two major areas of social endeavor which required sizable expenditures of funds, defense and interstate mobility (transportation and communication). A third area of endeavor developed during the Nineteenth Century and grew increasingly in the Twentieth Century, namely that of maintaining the free market place, an extension as it were of the power and duty to maintain honest weights and measures, but extending to such things as anti-trust legislation, regulation of natural monopolies, patent and copyright laws and, of course, maintaining the value of money.

To finance these expenditures, the Federal Government originally used only transaction taxes, initially and mainly foreign transactions, import tariffs. This method of financing fit well with expenditure policies of the day and raised the necessary revenues with

considerable ease. The essential feature needed for sound fiscal policy was present, namely that those who had the pleasure of spending the money had the clear responsibility for raising it.

As the Twentieth Century unfolded, the responsibilities of the Federal Government and, concomitantly, the cost of providing for the defense of the country increased rapidly. The costs of maintaining the free market place also increased considerably. To meet these two cost items, the Federal Government developed two new sources of revenue, the corporate income tax (originally a federal excise tax measured in terms of corporate profits) and the individual income tax. However, the relationship between spending and raising the revenues remained, thus preserving the needed discipline in expenditure policy.

The function of providing for the defense of the society seems to be quite in tune with the method of raising the revenues to finance it, namely a tax based upon profit from economic endeavors. The defense of the country contributes to preserving the economic activity which is, in essence, the tax base.

The basic function of the State governments when the Federal Government took over national defense and interstate mobility in 1787 lay primarily in providing the structure and climate for county and municipal governments to be born, develop and flourish. The State governments allowed the taxation of wealth to become the almost exclusive domain of county and municipal governments. This is an interesting historical development. At the same time the basic governmental expenditures for community facilities, health, education, welfare, streets, farm to market roads, sewers, police, fire protection remained with the local county and municipal governments.

State endeavors were directed primarily to the problems of intra-state mobility—highways, railroads, utilities. State revenues were largely raised through transaction taxes, sales and use taxes. States moved somewhat later into the field of expenditure equalization within the State, recognizing that some areas of the State were developed and wealthy, while other areas were underdeveloped or just poor. There had to be an apportionment of expenditures, not based exclusively upon the ability to raise the taxes from physical wealth. In the latter part of the Nineteenth Century and the early part of the Twentieth Century this meant that taxes had to be raised, in some states, from the urban areas where more of the economic transactions occurred to be spent in rural areas, for educators, in particular, recognized even then that education was truly a capital expenditure.

Local school districts in areas of limited wealth, frequently rural, had sizable school age populations. Education equalization laws allocating state funds to the school districts with limited tax bases were developed. Thus the states provided the mechanisms for relating urban and rural populations. The transaction tax became the main source of revenue.

The largest governmental expenditures in the society have been traditionally at the local level covering, as they did, the vast fields of health, education, welfare, police and fire protection, recreation, streets, docks, wharfs, etc. The bulk of the revenues raised to pay for these governmental expenditures were based, as I have pointed out, on taxes on wealth. The real estate property tax—although in earlier days the personal property tax was also used. In the rural counties the personal property tax on farm animals and farm equipment and, in urban areas, an equivalent personal property tax on industrial equipment does not have all the archaic and unrealistic features that the householders rightly see in this form of tax. Having said this, I wish to make it clear that I have little good to say about this particular tax on wealth.

Not only did the real estate tax conform to basic sound fiscal policy, namely that those spending the money were responsible for raising it, but it had an added value, probably the most important value of them all, that the expenditure of funds almost invariably increased the tax base from which the funds were extracted. In other words, the tax money was spent to build streets, roads, sewers, which enhanced the value of the property taxed considerably beyond the amount of the expenditure. The benefit: cost ratios were high. The same may be said about expenditures to maintain police and fire departments—the land values increase and the cost of maintaining property decreases. Certainly money spent for building and operating schools maintains and enhances property values.

This peculiarity of the local tax on wealth—mainly real estate and its appurtenances—does not apply to any other form of tax. The taxes on transaction tend to stunt the tax base, not increase it. Transactions will still grow, provided the tax take is not too great, but they do not grow as the result of the expenditures derived from the tax. However, at the State level we can expect more sophistication on the part of those in whose hands the responsibilities of State government have been placed. Fortunately there are a few state functions and expenditures which do increase the tax base from which the revenues are extracted, e.g. state universities, farm to market roads, parks and state highways. However, many state taxes although transaction taxes, tend to be user taxes, namely taxes imposed upon the transaction involving the use of a commodity or service provided by the government, e.g. a gasoline tax for building highways. I think the basic state fiscal picture, therefore, is quite sound. Transaction taxes serve quite well to get the revenues needed to equalize expenditures between rural and urban areas and between areas of little wealth to areas of greater wealth.

The income tax, as I have pointed out, provides revenue to protect and maintain the tax base from which it derives its revenues, namely economic activity, but it does not primarily increase wealth or increase *per se* sustainable economic activity. Indeed, it is a mild deterrent to sustainable economic activity almost by definition. However the expenditure policies of the Federal Government, if confined to their proper area, are well understood and appreciated by the whole society which pays the tax. Provided the tax rates are not maintained at such a high level that they impede economic activity—the tax base—they are bearable.

The payroll tax, which finances social security programs primarily at the federal level—the tax based upon earnings from wages and salaries—has recently loomed large in the bundle of taxes imposed in our society. It is the most regressive tax of all the major taxes mentioned, but its expenditure, being cash payments directly to the individual persons, lessens this regressiveness markedly. However, it certainly impedes the growth of its base—namely; employment, from which it derive its income. The payroll tax is a cost factor which encourages, to some degree, substituting machines for manpower. In the long run the substitutions of machines for manpower increases the net number of jobs available, but in the short run it destroys jobs in being with men and women attached to them, while the new jobs it creates, on the whole, require men and women to be trained to fill them—and it requires the efforts to overcome other social structures to get men and women into these new jobs.

As I said in my introduction, I am pleased that the property tax is coming in for comprehensive study and consideration. I think this study will reveal that as employed in our society—tied in with expenditure policies which increase property values, its base—that is a real beauty. It needs more under-



standing and certainly a lot of updating. It is dependent upon sound assessment policies which, in turn, depend upon sound building codes and zoning laws equitably enforced. It requires an understanding that idle land—raw land—should be taxed at a somewhat higher rate than improvements on the land, so that there will be an encouragement to put land to its most productive use. It is the one tax that is anti-hoarding and hoarding, I submit, is the basic sin to a productive economy.

Let me conclude by observing that we hear a great deal about the need for land reform in underdeveloped countries abroad—and I could not agree more—but how many people associate sound government fiscal policy based upon sound real estate taxation as being the foundation upon which any meaningful land reform must be based? That indeed developing a sound real estate tax is land reform itself and the most important and basic of any land reform?

The pundits we have been sending abroad all too often to advise the peoples of these underdeveloped societies have had little or no experience with local taxation in the United States—real estate taxation. When they discuss taxation in the United States, they relate it to the federal taxation. This advice is not only largely useless, but may be damaging to the development of these societies. We need to send abroad some people experienced in real estate, tax assessment and tax collections. In America, government is looked upon with reasonable friendliness by its taxpayers because the tax money is spent for their benefit. This, unfortunately, is not true around the world today, or in the history of nations. All too often the Federal Government is looked upon as the exploiter, not the benefactor. I hope we can keep this friendly relationship here and encourage it abroad. To do so, it must not be taken for granted because, indeed, it is up to date somewhat unique in history.

#### A PROPOSAL TO LOWER THE COST OF FINANCING THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PATMAN). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to propose a means of lowering the cost of financing the war in Vietnam.

I plan to outline this plan in detail later in my remarks. For the sake of clarity, I summarize some of the highlights at this point:

First. Interest charges are one of the biggest items in our defense expenditures and, in the current fiscal year, will take a whopping \$14 billion out of the total Federal budget.

Second. To reduce these charges, and thereby the cost of the war in Vietnam, I propose that the Federal Reserve System purchase bonds directly from the U.S. Treasury on a non-interest-bearing basis.

Third. These non-interest-bearing bonds would be limited to unusual expenditures associated directly with the Vietnam war. This would be an estimated \$22 billion in the next fiscal year.

Fourth. I further propose that 2½ percent of these bonds be paid back each year without interest, thus spreading the cost of the war over future years.

Fifth. The proposal will save more than \$1 billion annually and will free money for needed domestic programs.

Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the President will present the Congress with the largest budget in its history. It has been indicated that total Federal expenditures for the fiscal year beginning on July 1, 1967, will exceed \$135 billion.

This is a staggering sum even for a country so productive and so rich as the United States.

At least \$73 billion—or more than 50 percent of this budget—will be earmarked for military and defense purposes. This will be the third largest defense budget ever submitted to the Congress.

Nearly all of the new military expenditures can be traced directly to the conflict in Vietnam, a war which may prove to be the costliest in the history of the country. Since 1965, we have seen a skyrocketing of costs attributed to the Vietnamese war.

In fiscal 1965, our defense budget stood at about \$51 billion. In fiscal year 1968—which begins on July 1—the defense expenditures will be up \$22 billion over the 1965 figures. This is a 43-percent increase in 3 short years.

It takes no great budgetary expert to determine that the \$73 billion for the defense budget will put a strain on all programs of the Federal Government. It is no secret that such a military expenditure endangers the financing of needed domestic programs. Education, highways, farm programs, and rural electrification, housing, slum clearance, transportation, the war on poverty—all are in danger.

But at this critical juncture in history, I do not believe that we can turn our backs on any of these needs. To neglect our basic domestic needs could be more damaging to this country than a crushing defeat on the battlefields of Vietnam.

For many years, we have been in sharp competition with the Communist world on many fronts. Not all of these fronts are military. In fact, our real competition is for excellence and for leadership. The Congress must give the country the necessary tools to keep our society moving forward.

We cannot long remain a world leader if our educational facilities are allowed to lag. We cannot be a world example if we neglect urban and rural development needs. We cannot win the minds of men if we allow poverty to fester and become a national sore. Never have our great domestic programs been more important than they are today.

Yes, I am among those who believe that we must prosecute the Vietnamese war to a successful and honorable conclusion. But I do not number myself among those who wring their hands and say we cannot afford to fight the war in Vietnam and, at the same time, meet our needs at home.

We must find the means to do both. We must find some new and imaginative ways to finance part of this huge \$135

billion budget. We must not be fettered by tradition and outworn methods.

By any standards the expenditures in Vietnam are unusual. They are not normal, day-to-day defense costs. Therefore, I believe that we must use what some might term “unusual” means of lightening the burdens of this big dollar outlay.

One of the most wasteful and unnecessary items attached to our defense costs is interest. This is a heavy burden which cut a whopping \$14 billion out of the fiscal 1967 budget. This sum was second only to the total defense budget.

As our costs spiral in Vietnam, I propose that the Congress move to eliminate some of this huge interest charge. To accomplish this, I am today introducing legislation which would require the Federal Reserve to purchase a certain number of bonds, issued by the U.S. Treasury, on an interest-free basis.

I propose that this be limited to what can be pinpointed as the unusual expenditures associated directly with the war in Vietnam. As I mentioned earlier, the defense budget stood at \$51 billion in fiscal 1965. My bill would use that year's figure as a base and require the Federal Reserve to purchase bonds covering all amounts which exceed the \$51 billion spent in 1965.

On this basis, the Federal Reserve would be required to purchase approximately \$22 billion of these non-interest-bearing bonds in fiscal 1968. These bonds would be long-term obligations which would spread the cost of the Vietnam war over future years. I propose that 2½ percent of the principal of the bonds be paid back each year, without interest.

Such a program, if adopted, would lower the cost of fighting the war in Vietnam and would free funds needed for domestic programs. Based on the current average cost of money to the Government, the annual savings in interest would exceed \$1 billion. I do not have to remind my colleagues what \$1 billion could do for many of our hard-pressed domestic programs.

For example, this would provide three times the money which will be requested to finance the model cities program in fiscal 1968. It would provide more than 2½ times the need for loan funds for the Rural Electrification Administration. It could probably finance most of the annual outlay for the poverty program. It would come close to paying for those activities authorized in the 2d session of the 89th Congress for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Over the long haul, the savings accomplished by this bill would be tremendous. It is a well-accepted theory in financial circles that the interest on long-term Government bonds will actually equal the principal before they are retired. So from the long-term standpoint, we would be cutting some of the costs of the war in Vietnam in half.

Surely it is not too much to ask that \$22 billion of our war expenditures be financed without interest. This seems like a small request when so many are sacrificing so much in this war effort. We are not asking that the interest



charges be eliminated on the entire \$135 billion budget—just on \$22 billion specifically earmarked for Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that the financial community will join me in this program. I do not believe that the banks will want to profit off of this portion of the war expenditures. Likewise, I hope the Federal Reserve will join in this effort to lower the cost of the war.

The idea that I propose here today should not be regarded as something unusual or revolutionary. During discussion of the Price Control bill in 1941—just before World War II broke out—this concept was thoroughly thrashed out. I well remember an exchange with the then Under Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Bell. I quote from the hearing record:

Mr. PATMAN. Instead of issuing a million dollar's worth of bonds and selling them to the banks, and paying the banks interest on the bonds, and allowing the banks to create a million dollars of money by a bookkeeping transaction, if the Treasury should issue a million dollars in bonds and deposit those bonds with the Richmond Federal Reserve Bank, or any other bank or banks, and received credit for these non-interest-bearing bonds, and then issued checks on the balances that you have in the bank or banks, would that not have the same effect as far as the supply of money is concerned as selling the bonds to banks?

Under Secretary BELL. Approximately the same. What you would be doing is that

your Federal Reserve banks would be financing your expenditure program, instead of your commercial banks.

Mr. PATMAN. I know, but I am asking you about the supply of money, and not about the effect. Is it not a fact that exactly the same amount of money has been put into circulation?

Under Secretary BELL. I think so; yes . . .

Later my colleague, Congressman Jerry Voorhis of California, and I proposed before the Ways and Means Committee that non-interest-bearing bonds be issued to finance a part of the World War II costs. On the Senate side, the late Senator Owen of Oklahoma proposed much the same thing. These proposals were very close to what I am suggesting here today.

While we were not totally successful in pushing our viewpoint, it is a fact that interest rates were kept very low during World War II. Throughout that war, the Federal Reserve cooperated with President Roosevelt to hold down interest rates. As a result the American taxpayers were saved billions of dollars in the financing of the tremendous costs of that war. During World War II, interest rates on long-term Government obligations were kept below 2½ percent.

I place in the RECORD a table which shows the yields, by months, on long-term Government bonds during World War II:

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year
1942	2.48	2.48	2.46	2.44	2.45	2.43	2.46	2.47	2.46	2.45	2.47	2.49	2.46
1943	2.46	2.46	2.48	2.48	2.46	2.45	2.45	2.46	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.49	2.47
1944	2.49	2.49	2.48	2.48	2.49	2.49	2.49	2.48	2.47	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48
1945	2.44	2.38	2.40	2.39	2.39	2.35	2.34	2.36	2.37	2.35	2.33	2.33	2.37

Unfortunately, since the Vietnamese war has been at its height, the Federal Reserve has failed to protect the public interest and has not kept interest rates down. Compared to the World War II record, the present Federal Reserve has appeared as a vehicle for war profiteering in interest rates.

This is regrettable and it has caused severe problems in financing both the war and our domestic programs. With so many of our young boys giving their supreme sacrifice in the war, it seems sad that the Federal Reserve has not been enlisted in this effort.

My bill will not correct the entire situation. But it will limit the profiteering on at least a substantial part of the future expenditures in Vietnam. It will, in part, reduce the strain on the total Federal budget. And it will, in part, allow us to go forward with domestic programs.

Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD a copy of the bill which I have introduced today:

#### H.R. 3387

A bill to provide for the issuance of non-negotiable United States bonds to finance certain defense expenditures, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. The Secretary of the Treasury may issue to Federal Reserve banks non-negotiable, noninterest-bearing bonds the principal of which shall be repayable in annual installments equal to 2½ per centum

of their face value. The principal amount of such bonds issued by the Secretary in any fiscal year shall not exceed the amount by which national defense expenditures for that fiscal year are greater than such expenditures for fiscal 1965. The provisions of section 14(b) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 355) shall not apply to any obligations issued by authority of this Act.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee. I commend him for his timely and forthright statement on lower interest rates and the obligation the Federal Reserve Board has to provide lower interest rates for the country.

I hope the Federal Reserve takes a cue from the Treasury and the President on the subject of lower interest rates.

In the last few days the leaders of the European countries have met with the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fowler, and have reached an agreement for lower interest rates. We have seen the President of the United States in his state of the Union message come to the Congress and also advocate that interest rates be lowered.

Again I commend the distinguished chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee. I urge my colleagues to read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and to

give very serious consideration to his bill to lower interest rates for financing the war in Vietnam.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished friend from the great State of Illinois for his contribution. I appreciate his support. He and I usually see the same way on monetary policy and take the same approach to these difficult problems.

Mr. ANNUNZIO has been a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency since he came to the Congress. I do not know of any other freshman Member of Congress who did more great things in the interest of the whole country than Mr. ANNUNZIO. He has been an unusual new Member and I appreciate the fact that I have the privilege of associating with him.

In the fight against high interest rates he and I were together on December 6, 1965, when the Federal Reserve Board and the Open Market Committee defied the President of the United States, and automatically and arbitrarily raised the interest rates 37.5 percent at one stroke of the pen. We condemned that action immediately. We have been fighting high interest rates ever since—not just high interest rates, but usurious interest rates, unreasonable interest rates, extortionate interest rates, and tight money that create more poverty in this country than any other one thing.

How can we claim consistently that we are against poverty when we are creating more poverty all the time by permitting extortionate interest rates to be charged the citizens of this Nation?

The gentleman from Illinois has been working with me and I have been working with him ever since that action on December 6, 1965. I have a feeling that we have, in our consistent fight, attracted just a little bit of attention. This just possibly was a factor in consideration of lower interest rates when our Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Fowler, met with European finance ministers this past weekend.

There are a number of untrue and fantastic charges about the necessity for high interest. Many say, "We want lower interest," but too often these same people raise interest rates when lower interest rates seem to be indicated.

The balance of payments is brought up as an excuse and they say, "Oh, we cannot afford to have our interest rates low. We cannot afford not to let our capital go abroad if the capital can earn more money abroad than here." This statement is an excuse, not a reason for high interest rates.

The actual facts show that out of all the countries on earth, the United States of America is the only one in the civilized world that does not have export controls on capital. That is the way to keep a balance of payments in order, to prevent speculative capital from going abroad. It is just as simple as that. I challenge anybody to contradict that statement. High interest rates are not the answer.

I have interrogated the officials of the Federal Reserve System and the Treasury over a long period of time, as Members know, and I believe I can say what the answer would have to be, from any one of them, if they were asked about



the export of capital. The answer would be that we are the only country on earth that does not control the export of our capital. If we were to impose export controls on capital, the balance-of-payment situation would be changed entirely in our favor.

I appreciate the consideration given the bill I introduced today. I believe it is in the public interest. It will save us an enormous amount of money.

It is only a question of how we want to spend the money. Do we want to give it to people for rendering no service at all, as interest charges? Do we want to pretend that we are giving it for a service when it is not a service? It is unearned interest. Or would we rather spend it to help eliminate poverty, educate our children, and to help build our country?

We do not want to retard progress in our country just because this war is going on. It is not right that the present generation should pay entirely out of pocket, out of current expenditures, the total cost of saving our country in time of war. Let that obligation be spread over a long period of time so that the country can continue to move forward. It is right that this be done.

I thank you for the consideration shown me on the introduction of this legislation.

#### RESPECTABLE BANKING COMMUNITY SUPPORTS LOAN SHARKING

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing realization that high interest charges place an inordinate burden on the poor of this Nation. The theory that high interest rates are a tax on the poor is becoming accepted as a fact.

Dr. David Caplovitz, of Columbia University, has done a brilliant job of describing this phenomenon in his book, "The Poor Pay More." This is an excellent description of the cruel toll that high interest credit takes from the poverty stricken.

Last Saturday, Dr. Caplovitz participated in the New York Consumer Assembly at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in New York City. Dr. Caplovitz discussed "Consumer Problems of the Poor" and once again stressed the problems of high interest rates.

Many, of course, are prone to lay the blame for high interest charges and bad credit practices on the loan shark and the sharp-practice finance company. The practices of these outfits are bad—very bad—but as Dr. Caplovitz points out, it is the respectable banking community which ultimately provides the funds for such activities.

This paragraph from Dr. Caplovitz' remarks to the New York Consumer Assembly is particularly significant on this point:

Much more despicable, I think are the fly-by-night companies which send their canvass-

ers into the ghetto to sell such expensive commodities as encyclopedias, pots and pans, deep freezers and vacuum cleaners. These companies specialize in sharp practices. Once they make their dishonest sales, they quickly sell their paper to finance companies and benefit from the immunity that the law now gives them from further responsibility for the sale. And I should point out that these disreputable companies could not long survive without the collusion of the equally disreputable finance companies and banks which buy their paper. These financial institutions must share the blame for the exploitation of the poor, for they know all too well that they are buying "bad" paper, that is, dishonestly obtained contracts, and yet they do so anyway. And when we ask the further question of where the finance companies get the funds that they need to operate, we soon discover that they often borrow from highly respectable banks. Thus, the so-called respectable financial community is also a party to the exploitation of the poor.

I place the text of Dr. Caplovitz' remarks in the RECORD:

#### CONSUMER PROBLEMS OF THE POOR

(By David Caplovitz, Ph. D., of Columbia University, delivered at the New York Consumer Assembly, Statler-Hilton Hotel, January 14, 1967)

My remarks will bear upon the problems that low-income persons face as consumers in our society. Until recently the "war on poverty" was focused exclusively on the earning power of the poor and how to expand it through education, job training and the creation of jobs. But the inability of the poor to earn a decent living is only one side of their economic plight. Equally important is how the poor spend what little income they have, that is, their situation as consumers making major buying decisions in the market place. To the extent that the poor pay more for the goods they buy—and I am convinced that they do—then to that extent they are deprived of the benefits of their earning power. They are forced to live in a world of inflation that our more well-to-do citizens are able to escape.

The tendency has been to assume that, since the poor have little money to spend, they cannot possibly be consumers of costly merchandise. But this reasoning overlooks the role of installment credit in our society. Through the mass media, Americans in all walks of life are bombarded with messages to buy now and pay later. "Easy payments" and "no money down" are the slogans luring even the poor into the market place. Nor is it very difficult to lure the poor into making costly purchases, for in some ways the ownership of goods takes on even more significance for low-income persons than for those in higher income brackets. Since the poor have little prospect of greatly improving their low social standing through occupational mobility, they are apt to turn to consumption as at least one sphere in which they can make some progress toward the American dream of success. Appliances, automobiles and the dream of a home of their own can become compensations for blocked social mobility.

Whatever the motive, there is increasing evidence that the poor are consumers of major durables. My own study of almost 500 low-income families, living in public housing projects in New York City, showed that these families owned many expensive appliances. Fully 95 per cent owned at least one television set; almost two-thirds owned a phonograph; almost half owned a sewing machine and almost half owned an automatic washing machine. Most of these families had spent considerable money furnishing their apartments. The typical family bought sets of furniture for at least two rooms when it moved into public housing and had spent approximately \$500 for furniture. Some 16

per cent had paid more than \$1,000 for furniture bought at the time of the move.

The prices they paid for appliances were quite high. Forty per cent paid more than \$300 for their TV set and 13 per cent had paid more than \$400. A number of families owned expensive combination television and phonograph sets and one family reported paying \$900 for such an appliance.

Partly because they are so dependent upon credit and partly because they are intimidated by the large downtown store, most of the families buy their major durables from neighborhood merchants or from door-to-door peddlers rather than going to the large department stores and discount houses. Symbolic of the narrow shopping scope of the poor is the practice of buying from door-to-door peddlers, the men with the traditional slogan of "a dollar down, a dollar a week". Fully half the families surveyed had made at least one credit purchase from these door-to-door salesmen and more than a third had made repeated purchases.

The poor, then, like others in our society, have major wants as consumers, and there are innumerable merchants in low-income areas who are all too eager to provide them with the goods they want (and I might add, often with goods that they do not want).

Because they are poor and have such low ratings as credit risks and because they lack the training to be sophisticated shoppers, persons of low income are easy prey to unscrupulous, exploitative merchants. The marketing system in which they are forced to operate is in many respects a deviant system. I have elsewhere described it as a commercial jungle in which exploitation and fraud are the norm rather than the exception. High pressure tactics, "bait" ads and "switch sales", misrepresentation of price and quality, and the sale of used merchandise as new all flourish in this special system of sales-and-credit. Responding to ads announcing appliances and furniture at unusually low prices, the consumer soon succumbs to the salesman's switch-sale technique and buys a much more expensive model.

Along "furniture row" on Third Avenue in East Harlem, the bait ad appearing in every store window announces three rooms of furniture for "only \$149" or "only \$199". The customer who inquires about this bargain is shown a bedroom set consisting of two flimsy bureaus and one bed frame. He learns that the spring and mattress are not included in the advertised price but can be had for another \$100 or so. The living room set in these "specials" consists of a fragile-looking sofa and one unmatching chair.

Commenting on this gimmick, a salesman in one of these stores told an interviewer: "I don't know how we do it. We advertise three rooms of furniture for \$149 and the customers swarm in. They end up buying a \$400 bedroom set for \$600 and none of us can believe how easy it is to make these sales."

I could go on and illustrate many other exploitative practices that are used to bilk the poor, such as the promise of free merchandise if the consumer will assist the salesman in finding other customers, extravagant verbal promises that prove to have no validity, or the delivery of merchandise other than that ordered, but by now, these exploitative schemes are all too well known. Only last Monday, National Educational Television presented an hour-long show documenting many of these unscrupulous practices.

Perhaps less well known is that there are even salesmen who specialize in extending credit to families who are on welfare. Last year I learned about two cases that had come to the legal office of Mobilization for Youth in New York City. In both instances, women on welfare were talked into buying expensive television sets. The salesman said he would be by every two weeks when the welfare check



came to collect \$10. They were told that the sets would cost \$200 but when they were delivered, the women discovered that they had to pay \$600. In spite of the suddenly inflated price of the merchandise, these women kept up payments until their sets broke down and the company refused to make repairs in spite of guarantees that they had been given. Their withholding of payments led to their sets being repossessed and it was only at that time that they sought legal aid.

These incidents illustrate another point that must be made. Many poor people find themselves overextended in credit obligations and unable to maintain payments. But many others stop paying on their purchases not because they are unable to pay, but because they refuse to pay on faulty merchandise. Instead of gaining retribution, however, they are more often than not subjected to legal sanctions brought upon them by the merchant. This process can be seen in the experience of one man interviewed in our study: "I bought a set of pots and pans from a door-to-door salesman. They were of very poor quality and I wanted to give them back but they wouldn't take them. I stopped paying and told them to change them or take them back. They started bothering me on every job I had. Then they wrote to my current job and my boss is taking \$6 weekly from my pay and sending it to them."

It is not clear from his account whether he lost some of his previous jobs because of the efforts to garnish his salary; this does happen with some frequency. Many employers simply will not be bothered with garnishments and do not hesitate to fire workers whose salaries are attached. We are accustomed to thinking that these difficulties arise because these people are poor. But it is also true that some families become poor because they have these problems. To lose a job because of a garnishment is certainly one way of entering the ranks of the impoverished.

I should point out that the jungle confronting the poor consumer extends to the procedural aspects of the law. Legal procedures are violated with some frequency by the merchants' attorneys and the City Marshals who are responsible for collecting the debts.

For example almost all the lawsuits against consumers who do not pay result in judgments by default, that is, the consumers do not show up in court to defend themselves. The assumption commonly made is that these default judgments simply mean that the consumer has no case; that he indeed owes the money and therefore chooses not to answer the complaint and risk further court costs. But the legal unit of Mobilization for Youth has come across a number of cases in which the defendant was never served with a summons. Process servers often evade their responsibility and simply throw the summons away. This happens with sufficient frequency that a special term has evolved in legal circles to refer to it: "sewer service". Low-income families are especially likely to be victims of this practice since they are not apt to know their legal rights or how to protect them.

Another example: Before a garnishment order can be entered with an employer in New York State, the City Marshal is required by law to give 20 days' notice to the defendant. The purpose of this law is to give the defendant a chance to clear up the debt and avoid embarrassment with his employer. But this procedure, too, is frequently not followed. All too often, the first the poor consumer hears of the action taken against him is when his employer calls him in and tells him about the garnishment. And by that time, it is often too late for the consumer to protect his job, let alone his rights in the legal action.

It is all too easy to say that the poor must be educated as consumers. But in my opin-

ion, it is even more important to provide the poor with meaningful alternatives to the present arrangements that confront them. I have in mind such things as credit unions, cooperatives and other self-help institutions.

In addition, there is a need for new legislation that will redress the balance between creditors' rights and debtors' rights. For example, we take pride in the fact that debtors' prisons have been abolished and yet today our legal structure permits garnishments which often result in depriving the debtor of his livelihood. Fortunately, through the efforts of many of the people here today, New York State has finally passed a law prohibiting employers from firing workers for this reason.

Until recently, I thought that losing a job because of a garnishment order was the worst thing that could happen to the low-income consumer. But then I learned something about how the system works in the State of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania is one of the few states in the country in which garnishment of wages is not permitted—an eminently desired state of affairs. But, in Pennsylvania, it is very easy for the creditor to attach the property of the debtor. Many working-class people who have managed to buy their homes find themselves losing title to their houses because of their installment debts. Every month, hundreds of houses in Philadelphia are sold at Sheriffs' auctions for a small fraction of their value to settle consumer debts.

Certainly "truth in lending" legislation is necessary if consumers are to behave rationally. We urge consumers to shop wisely and yet we tolerate a situation in which it is virtually impossible for consumers to shop for credit for the simple reason that those who extend credit are not required to state how much the credit costs. The variations in credit legislation from state to state are not only awesome but difficult to justify. For example, in the State of Arkansas, the maximum interest that can be charged on any loan is 10 percent, but the State of Texas permits over 200 percent interest on loans under \$100.

I should now like to say a word on behalf of those I have treated as the villains, the local merchants in poverty areas. In my opinion, it is a mistake to see their practices as wholly due to their unscrupulous personalities. They, too, are constrained by a set of economic forces. In some respects these merchants must charge more for the simple reason that it costs them more to operate. I am not thinking only of the fact that being small businessmen, they cannot buy in bulk the way chain stores or large department stores can. I also have in mind the fact that these merchants frequently have to pay more for the money they borrow and in particular that they have to pay more for the insurance they need. If I am not mistaken, the insurance companies of American are now facing a crisis concerning insurance in ghetto areas. Even at the much higher rates they charge, they apparently are not finding it profitable to extend insurance to ghetto merchants. There is a need, then, for new institutional arrangements to meet the needs of the local merchant as well as those of the local consumer. Why, for example, can not there be some system of pooling insurance and sharing the risk so that the local merchant does not have to pay an exorbitant price for insurance?

Moreover, the merchant whose business is located in the ghetto is far from being the most evil person in the system of exploitation of the poor. To some extent, his practices are constrained by the need to maintain "good will" with his customers. Much more despicable, I think, are the fly-by-night companies which send their canvassers into the ghetto to sell such expensive commodities as encyclopedias, pots and pans, deep freezers and vacuum cleaners. These companies spe-

cialize in sharp practices. Once they make their dishonest sales, they quickly sell their paper to finance companies and benefit from the immunity that the law now gives them from further responsibility for the sale. And I should point out that these disreputable companies could not long survive without the collusion of the equally disreputable finance companies and banks which buy their paper. These financial institutions must share the blame for the exploitation of the poor, for they know all too well that they are buying "bad" paper, that is, dishonestly obtained contracts, and yet they do so anyway. And when we ask the further question of where the finance companies get the funds that they need to operate, we soon discover that they often borrow from highly respectable banks. Thus, the so-called respectable financial community is also a party to the exploitation of the poor.

I should like to close on a note of optimism. Earlier, I mentioned the need for self-help institutions to protect the interests of low-income consumers. We hear a good deal these days about the great difficulty of organizing the poor to take action on the problems that face them. But recently I learned about an organization that has restored my confidence in the power of the poor. This organization is located in Philadelphia and is called the Consumer Education and Protective Association. CEPA was formed about eight months ago and today has about five hundred members. It operates on a shoe-string. Through membership dues and contributions, they have managed to raise \$5,000. And what have they accomplished? By using the union weapon of the picket line, they have forced many merchants to make refunds on unconscionable transactions. A key to their success is a monthly newspaper that they distribute in the low-income areas. Their paper is called "Consumers Voice" and their slogan is "Let the Seller Beware." I have copies of their paper which I shall be glad to show you. Their accomplishments can be seen from the headlines. For example, one headline reads, "Pickets at N.Y. Bank Stop Sheriff Sale"; another announces, "Finance Co. refunds \$730"; and another says, "Dealer takes back \$3,000 Used Car."

This organization has become so effective that the opposition is beginning to organize to shoot them down. Soon they will be sued for unauthorized practice of law. But my guess is that they have sufficiently aroused the low-income population of Philadelphia so that they will not easily be put out of business. I think that we here in New York have much to learn from CEPA, and would do well to develop a similar organization. Through such efforts and through more effective legislation, the day may come when the poor are given a fair shake in the marketplace.

#### HIGH INTEREST RATES AND HIGH TAXES FORCE SUPERMARKETS TO LEAVE SMALL TOWNS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, high interest rates seriously curtail all economic activity. Mr. George Sunkel, a representative of the Piggly Wiggly Stores—a supermarket operation—has written me expressing in detail the effect high interest rates have on this organization's operations.

High interest rates are a matter of



concern to all people, be they residents of small towns or large cities. I commend this letter to everyone. It very graphically describes the effect of the high interest rate, tight-money policies which the Federal Reserve Board placed in effect beginning with its action in December 1965 when they, among other things, raised interest rates by 37½ percent.

The letter follows:

PIGGY WIGGLY STORES,  
Clarksville, Tex., January 11, 1967.

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I want to commend you on your stand on high taxes and high interest rates, as you are in my opinion correct that there is a strong possibility that this could force this country toward a recession.

High interest rates in our own business has drastically curtailed expansion, as we are faced everywhere we turn, not only with a very tight money situation, but also with the fact that when we can get financing for new store buildings, the interest rate is so high that expansion, particularly in smaller towns, is prohibitive, as the anticipated sales will not justify the cost of Lease based on these high rates.

With all good wishes, and kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE SUNKEL.

#### LITTLE ROOM FOR COMPLACENCY IN EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK—UN- EMPLOYMENT IN DEPRESSED CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY STILL REMAINS AT RECORD LEVELS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, we can be justly proud of the fact that the latest statistics on this Nation's unemployment level show that unemployment is currently 3.8 percent—far below the postwar average. Much more, of course, needs to be done to drive this unemployment rate down to the barest minimum. Within this overall statistic, however, we find that the unemployment rate in the construction industry for the month of December was 8.8 percent, not too much better than it was in November last when this unemployment rate reached the fantastic level of 9.3 percent.

The current rates of unemployment in the construction industry and much of the reason why the overall unemployment rate is not below the 3.8-percent rate lies with the fact that the Federal Reserve Board since it moved in December 1965 to raise interest rates by 37½ percent has continued to operate on a tight-money, high-interest rate policy.

Until the Federal Reserve Board takes concerted action to increase the money supply and drive down interest rates neither labor nor the homebuilding industry—among others—can hope to achieve high levels of economic activity and prosperity. These facts are dis-

cussed in detail in an editorial from the Sunday, January 15, Washington Post, which follows:

#### THE EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK

The economic analyst who forecasts the short-term future of the economy is little interested in the rate of unemployment because it moves with business trends rather than foreshadowing them. But for the politician, whose concern is the welfare of his constituents, unemployment is the vital indicator, the bread-and-butter test of the Administration's economic policies. In December—after correcting for seasonal variation—the household survey shows that 3.8 percent of the labor force was unemployed as against 3.7 percent in November. A 3.8 per cent rate is well below the average for the postwar period, but on delving beneath the surface, there is little room for complacency about the employment outlook.

Although payroll employment in the manufacturing sector held firm in December, falling by less than the seasonal average, there was marked decline in the average weekly number of hours worked. That change—from 41.3 hours in November to 41.0 hours in December—is significant because reducing hours of work is management's first response to declining demands. After a period of very rapid economic growth and favorable expectations, managers are reluctant to lay off or furlough experienced workers; their initial adjustment is made by shortening the work week which as recently as September averaged 41.5 hours.

Management's desire to hold their work forces together provides an opportunity for the Administration which is confronted by likely prospects of economic slowdown. If monetary policy can be quickly reversed and fiscal policy is not restrictive, the impact of the slowdown on the level of employment can be mitigated.

One sign of hope is to be found in the depressed construction industry where the rate of unemployment was reduced from 9.3 percent in November to 8.8 percent in December. But in order to revive the residential component of the construction industry, which early in 1966 accounted for nearly \$29 billion in expenditures, mortgage rates must be lowered by increasing supply of funds. And little is going to be accomplished before the Federal Reserve authorities begin to increase the reserves of the banking system.

With the labor force estimated to increase by 1.4 million and number of agricultural jobs expected to decline by 0.3 million during this year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that 1.7 million new nonagricultural jobs will be required to prevent the rate of unemployment from rising. The experience of 1965-66 suggests that so modest a goal can be achieved. Everything depends upon the speed and effectiveness with which the Administration counters the recessionary forces that are now visible in several sectors of the economy.

#### HIGHER TAXES: PLOY TO HIDE THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD'S MISTAKES

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, it was with a great deal of disappointment that I received the news last week of the proposed tax increase. I realize that the President's hand has been forced by Fed-

eral Reserve Chairman Martin, who has insisted for the past year that his mistakes be covered up by increasing taxes.

The immense burden of the record high interest rates of 1966 cost this Nation untold billions of dollars in added costs for our consumers, businesses, and government. Now we are asked to sustain a tax increase to adjust the economy to the damage done by the Federal Reserve Board's year-long high interest rate policy.

My observations on this matter have been substantiated by many newspaper stories which have appeared recently, and the same observations are made in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report. The U.S. News & World Report article follows:

#### WILL HIGHER TAXES MEAN LOWER INTEREST RATES?

Tight money . . . huge deficits . . . a balance-of-payments problem. Those are the things that led Mr. Johnson to call on Congress for an increase in taxes.

If all works out as planned, money will become more plentiful and interest rates will drop.

A call for a 6 per cent increase in income taxes, made in President Johnson's speech to Congress on January 10, was prompted by a number of troublesome trends.

Talks with high officials of the Johnson Administration disclose that the new tax plan is designed to—

Clear the way for a significant easing of money and credit.

Bolster the U.S. dollar around the world.

Avoid a budget deficit of a size that might be politically disastrous.

If the President's plan works out as intended, money will become more abundant and interest rates for all sorts of borrowers will come down in the months ahead.

As a starter, Mr. Johnson announced that an additional 1 billion dollars in loans is being made available to savings and loan associations by the Federal Home Loan Banks.

Those loans, moreover, are to be offered at a reduced interest rate, 5¼ per cent instead of 6.

The purpose of these moves: to help savings and loan associations make mortgage loans to people who want to buy or build homes.

In addition, the President told Congress in his state-of-the-union message: "I will do everything in a President's power to lower interest rates and ease money. . . ."

A quick response. The President's call for lower rates of interest was not ignored. On January 11, National City Bank of Minneapolis announced it was reducing from 6 per cent to 5.75 per cent the interest rate on its "prime" loans to best customers.

In New York City, bankers found no reason for immediate cuts in loan rates. But some banks reduced the rates they pay on big certificates of deposit.

Underlying the tax-increase proposal, officials make it clear, is a web of interlocking problems—tight money, a deficit in the U.S. balance of payments and a series of towering deficits in the federal budget.

The President, planning for the year to start July 1, found himself in a box.

The Government's outgo is climbing much more rapidly than its income.

The prospect for the new fiscal year appeared to be a budget deficit of 12.6 billion dollars, perhaps more.

No President had ever deliberately proposed a deficit that large except in World War II. President Dwight Eisenhower ran a deficit of 12.4 billions in one year, but it was done accidentally when a recession undermined Government revenues.

Mr. Johnson was reluctant to take the



political risks involved in deficit financing on that scale.

With the tax increase he proposed, the deficit next year would be reduced to 8.1 billion dollars.

Goal: easier money. Important, too, in the tax decision: Mr. Johnson was told by his advisers that, without a tax boost to trim the deficit and curb inflation, he would not get assurance of easier money from William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

For more than a year, Mr. Martin has been calling for a tax increase and warning that, without one, tight money and high interest rates could not head off serious inflation.

When no broad increase in tax rates was forthcoming last year, the Reserve System ordered one turn after another on the credit screw.

With mortgage money drying up, home building went into a steep dive, individuals, businesses and State and local governments found it difficult to borrow at any price.

By late August, interest rates were at 40-year highs and bankers were warning of an impending "monetary crisis."

To President Johnson, it was a painful experience.

The President told Congress:

"Our greatest disappointment in the economy during 1966 was the excessive rise in interest rates and a tightening of credit."

More recently, as the business boom abated a bit, the Reserve has eased up cautiously on credit.

Now, with a proposal of a tax increase, Mr. Johnson hopes that Mr. Martin and the Reserve Board will go on and make credit still easier and cheaper.

The President, in his message, put it this way: "Most interest rates have retreated from their earlier peaks. More money now seems to be available. Given the co-operation of the Federal Reserve System, which I so earnestly seek, I am confident that this movement can continue."

Has Mr. Johnson been given assurance of still-easier credit? A high official of the Administration hints that he has.

The tax and money policies set out in the President's message, says the official, were developed in "continuous consultation" with the Reserve.

The official adds that the White House and the Reserve Board now are "in a fine state of co-ordination."

No sudden plunge in interest rates is expected, however. Even if Congress approves a tax rise, it is not to take effect before July 1. And then its effect is expected to be largely offset by a big boost in Social Security pensions.

**Dollar troubles.** An increase in taxes also is counted on to help strengthen the dollar.

First, added curbs on inflation would be expected to spur U.S. exports and the contribution they make to this country's balance of payments.

Second, a show of fiscal responsibility is expected to strengthen the confidence of foreign bankers in the dollar and encourage foreigners to keep the dollars they hold instead of cashing them in for U.S. gold.

Will a modest tax increase do all that's planned for it?

No one can tell, but Mr. Johnson, after a year of pressure, is now making the try.

## EFFORTS TO EASE WORLDWIDE INTEREST RATES WITHOUT CENTRAL BANKERS APPLAUDED

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler and the finance ministers of France, West Germany, Italy, and Britain met in Britain to discuss ways and means of ending the dangerous increase in worldwide interest rates. I applaud these efforts even more so, since the governments involved have seen fit to coordinate monetary policies without the pressure and presence of their respective central bankers.

In all the other countries except the United States, the central banks are under government control, so their absence is not extraordinary. But efforts by this Government to reduce interest rates without the Federal Reserve's advice is welcomed. I imagine the Treasury Department feels that, after following the Federal Reserve's dictated policies in 1966, efforts to ease the dangerous trend of higher rates should be a coordinated administration policy, minus independent action.

It is a happy occasion to have the Treasury Department out from the thumbs of the Federal Reserve Board. Following my remarks is an article by M. J. Rossant of the New York Times on the international effort to cut interest rates:

### INTEREST-RATE CUTS—JOHNSON'S HOPES OF TRIMS HERE REST WITH COORDINATING MOVES IN EUROPE

(By M. J. Rossant)

President Johnson's hopes for a substantial easing in monetary policy to stimulate domestic economic activity rests in large part on bringing about international disarmament in interest rates. The first formal move to achieve interest-rate disarmament will take place in Britain this weekend, when Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler meets with the finance ministers of France, West Germany, Italy and Britain to discuss ways and means of coordinating reductions in interest rates here and abroad.

It may appear strange to hold a conference to coordinate monetary policies without the presence of the central bankers who have to do the coordinating. But Europe's central bankers are not independent.

They are expected to carry out the policies of their respective governments, which have the ultimate responsibility for over-all economic conditions.

The situation is different in the United States, where the independent Federal Reserve has much more freedom of action. It does not have to bow to the wishes of President Johnson or Secretary Fowler.

The Federal Reserve, however is all for easing credit now that the private sector is sagging. It began to reverse its restrictive policy even before Mr. Johnson's pledge to "do everything in the President's power to lower interest rates and to ease money in this country."

But the Federal Reserve will be hard put to lower interest rates at home as much as the President desires and Wall Street seems to expect if interest rates remain high abroad. If the Federal Reserve made the attempt, it would merely trigger a fresh and dangerous outflow of dollars to higher yielding foreign markets.

### APPEAL TO EUROPEANS

So instead of trying to persuade or bargain with the Federal Reserve, the Administration is appealing to the Europeans to agree to a concerted lowering of interest rates.

If Mr. Fowler succeeds, the Administration does not have to worry about getting cooperation from the Federal Reserve.

This attempt to achieve coordination is constructive but the prospects for an effective agreement are far from bright even though officials on both sides of the Atlantic recognize that monetary easing can help increase business activity just as monetary stringency served to restrain it.

Certainly there was an appalling lack of coordination last year when interest-rate escalation took on the appearance of a full-fledged war. If coordination failed when interest rates were rising it may fail again now that they are falling.

While there was no coordination there was a great deal of consultation during the interest-rate war that took place last year.

Key financial and monetary officials not only met frequently in an effort to reach agreement but often issued public warnings about the grave risks involved in pushing up interest rates too high and too fast.

### PAINFUL LEVELS

But rates reached excessive—and painful—levels because the Johnson Administration and most European Governments wanted to avoid tax increases. The result, as Governor Louis Rasminsky of the Bank of Canada recently pointed out, is that monetary policy has to go too far and "more important, the total job does not get done."

President Johnson's request for tax increases sometime this year is clearly designed to influence foreign governments as well as the Federal Reserve.

But whether foreign finance ministers will agree to mesh interest rates policies is as uncertain as the fate of the tax bill in Congress.

Some European governments prefer to spend heavily rather than ease credit. So they may not agree to go along with plans for changing the fiscal-monetary mix.

### THE BUSINESS FACTOR

But with business falling off in West Germany, Britain and the United States, there is no doubt that interest rates are poised for a fall. Germany has already lowered its discount rate and the Bank of England may move next.

But uncontrolled disarmament of rates can bring as much harm as an interest-rate war, particularly to the United States and Britain, which still are running large deficits in their transactions with the rest of the world.

Unless they obtain an agreement on co-ordination, the amount of easing that can be done in London or New York will be limited. Even with coordination, the decline in interest rates may not be as sharp as the markets are already anticipating.

## GUIDE FOR CONSUMER BORROWING

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a recent article appearing in the December 1966 Good Housekeeping should be brought to the attention of all our consumers who buy on credit today. In a straightforward presentation, this article outlines what the buyer should beware of and what he should know about installment contracts. It also reminds the consumer to avoid the attractive lure of overextending one's credit on installment purchases.

Following the article in the RECORD, I am inserting a table, published by the



Talman Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago, Ill., listing the types of loans available to consumers, and the usual interest cost per annum of such loans:

#### WHAT EVERY INSTALLMENT BUYER SHOULD KNOW

"Buy now and pay later" is an accepted practice in American family life. Nearly one-half of the families in the U.S. pay for purchases—from clothing to automobiles—on the installment plan. If you have a steady job and do not have too many other debts, it is usually easy to arrange installment-buying credit. In fact, some financial authorities believe it is too easy to get such credit because an increasing number of families are going more deeply into debt than they can afford. For example, there were 170,174 individual bankruptcies in 1965 compared to 114,166 in 1960.

The amount of money a family can afford to spend on installment buying varies with how much of its income is left after basic living costs are met. Dr. S. Lees Booth, director of research of the National Consumer Finance Association, an organization of finance companies, believes a family should use only what credit it can afford and not be guided by any set percentage of its net income after taxes. However, some authorities say not more than 15 percent of spendable income should be used for installment buying. (Mortgage payments are not usually considered credit payments, but are included in basic living costs, the same as rent.)

When a family decides it can afford to buy something on the installment plan, it should find the most economical way to do so. Fred K. Gardner, a deputy manager of the American Bankers Association, says a family should shop for financing just as it does for the item it is going to buy. A higher interest rate, he says, may use up any money saved on buying a bargain item. In considering sources of financing, remember that loans from such institutions as banks or credit unions usually have a lower interest rate than installment contracts with retailers. In other words, it may be advantageous to borrow money and pay for the item in full. And, of course, all credit costs money. Cash buying is the most economical way to purchase any item. That is why many families save on a regular basis for major purchases.

Before signing an installment contract, be sure all blanks are filled and that you understand the terms. Check these points:

The total purchase price, which is the amount borrowed plus any down payment.

Cost of the interest and service charges in dollars and whether there are insurance or other charges.

Trade-in or other allowances.

Total amount due.

The amount and number of payments and the date each is due.

A copy of the contract should be furnished to the buyer. Such contracts may provide that you do not own the item until all payments are made. It also may stipulate that you cannot sell the item or move it without permission until it is paid for. Be cautious of contracts that:

Call for a final payment which is much larger than the others. If this payment is not made, the item may be repossessed when almost paid for.

Require the purchase of extra items that may not be wanted.

Allow collection of all or part of a buyer's salary if a payment is missed.

A buyer should also be aware that many contracts stipulate that default in a payment makes all other payments due and payable immediately.

The cost of installment credit increases with the length of time it takes to pay for the item. To save on interest, pay down as much as possible so payments on the outstanding balance are smaller and it can be

paid off in the shortest period possible. Interest rates on installment contracts are often quoted as 1 to as high as 3½ percent a month. Such rates in *true annual interest* (the interest paid if the full sum borrowed is kept for one year) would be 12 percent for 1 percent a month and 42 percent for 3½ percent a month. The true annual interest rate for a discounted bank loan (where the interest is taken out in advance) is about twice the discount interest rate. For example, a 6 percent discount interest rate on a one-year loan is about 12 percent true annual interest, considerably lower than many rates quoted on a monthly basis.

For families who become overburdened with installment payments, about 50 communities have established nonprofit counseling services which will help work out a plan

to pay creditors. A small charge may be made. The Family Service Association of America is surveying such counseling services to find ways to help families in serious trouble because of having overextended credit. Banks and other lending institutions also can give advice on credit problems.

Because of the rapid rise in installment credit in the past 10 years—from about \$40 billion to \$70 billion—the families in trouble have increased. In some areas, debt adjusters or debt poolers offer their services for fees ranging from 10 to 35 percent of the total debt. The National Better Business Bureau says it has received many complaints about unscrupulous promoters in this business. Twenty states have passed laws banning the commercial debt-pooling business.

Credit-cost table

Type of credit	Usual cost rate per annum	Recommendation
College education loans qualifying for Federal subsidy.	3 percent.....	By all means.
College education loans with State or private guarantee, or with security, but without subsidy.	6 percent.....	OK for good students.
1st mortgage home loans, open end monthly payment plan.	6 to 7 percent.....	Good for most families with permanent, stable employment. Will clear the home from debt in 20 years or less, for rent money.
Unsecured home improvement loans from savings and loan associations and banks.	9½ to 13½ percent.....	Better than 1st mortgage refinancing for major improvements to homes with old low-rate mortgage that will not secure advances; otherwise, not recommended except in cases of extreme need.
Credit union loans.....	8 to 10 percent (after dividends).	Cheapest and most satisfactory form of small credit.
"Instant-cash" to \$100 on bank charge-cards.	12 to 18 percent.....	The 12 percent deal is a bargain as small loans go; we do not recommend 18 percent loans.
Revolving credit plans of retail stores, including bank charge-card plans.	18 percent and up.....	Not recommended.
30-day retail credit, any plan, including charge-cards.	None.....	OK for convenience, if the price of the goods is right and you know you can pay the bill when it comes; but check prices against cash stores.
Automobile loans.....	8 to 200 plus percent.....	Beware the high cost of required insurance; better drive old car till you save enough money to trade up with cash.
Appliance loans.....	10 percent and up.....	Cash will usually buy it for 20 to 30 percent less; save and shop.
Personal loans (confidential) no questions asked.	30 percent and up.....	Not recommended.
Loans from friends, relatives or employers.	(?).....	Not for self-respecting people.
Loan sharks, unlicensed.....	The sky's the limit.....	No.

Source: Talman Federal Savings & Loan Association Chicago, Ill.

#### THE REPUBLICAN "STATE OF THE UNION" PRESENTATION

THE SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PATTEN). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, the Republicans put their best foot backward—the same direction they have been going for the past 60 years. The speech of my good friend, the distinguished minority leader, was not a state of the Union. It was a state of confusion.

It proposed nothing new, nothing practical, nothing sound.

It was the old broken record of fear, alarm, distrust, and futile carping.

The distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD] called for a new direction for America. But where does he want us to go?

For the past 6 years—under two Democratic Presidents and three Democratic Congresses—America has been moving forward.

A record 74 million Americans are working—and earning more than ever before.

Three and a half million of our elderly

have already received treatment under medicare.

Nine million of our poorest workers are covered by minimum wage.

Seven million deprived children are at last getting the education they so desperately need.

Almost 1 million young men and women are attending college, thanks to our new Federal programs of loans, grants and scholarships.

Three-quarters of a million Americans are learning new skills to make them useful and productive members of our economy.

These are not just some of our citizens; these are all of our citizens—wherever they live or whoever they are.

This is the direction America is moving. But the Republicans want a new direction—and the only direction they know is backward. Their record is there for all to see. And it is a record of sheer indifference.

The Republicans turned their backs on our mothers and fathers; 90 percent of the House Republicans voted to kill medicare.

They turned their backs on our children; 68 percent voted to kill the education bill.

They turned their backs on our work-



ers; 70 percent voted to kill the minimum wage.

They turned their backs on our poor; 90 percent voted to kill the war on poverty.

They turned their backs on minority groups; 85 percent voted to kill the voting rights bill, and 65 percent voted to kill last year's civil rights bill.

The Republican elephant has turned its back. It has turned its back on the people. And now they talk of new directions.

We hope they are sincere.

A few days ago, a great American President came to this House to give us a blueprint for American progress.

That blueprint was compassionate. It was realistic. It was visionary. And it was bold.

It was a call to action.

We hope the Republicans will join us in answering that call. If they want to eliminate crime, as they say they do, let them support the President's Safe Streets Act.

If they want better government, let them support the new Department of Business and Labor.

If they want our cities to be better places to live, let them support the full funding of the model cities.

If they want progress toward "the equality that is the right of every American," let them support the civil rights bill.

Let them stop saying "no, no, no," to the people.

Let them stop sowing confusion and start being constructive.

That, indeed, would be a new direction—and every American would welcome it.

#### "THE DUCK THAT TRIES TO LOOK LIKE A SWAN"—ONE CONGRESSMAN'S REACTION TO THE REPUBLICAN "STATE OF THE UNION" MESSAGE

**THE SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. RESNICK] is recognized for 60 minutes.

**MR. RESNICK.** Mr. Speaker, I rise today to reply to the so-called state of the Union message delivered Thursday evening by the distinguished House minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan, and the equally distinguished minority leader from the other body, the gentleman from Illinois.

I just cannot sit by and allow these Alice-in-Wonderland tales to be recited to us without answering back. I simply could not believe my ears when I heard the line the Republican leadership was trying to sell to the American public. There is an old saying, if it waddles like a duck, if it quacks like a duck and has feathers like a duck, it is a duck—not a swan. The distinguished minority leader, in his speech on Thursday night, deliberately ignored his own past statements and the voting record of his party in a glib attempt to make the conservative Republican duck take on the appearance of a liberal swan. Even Mandrake the Magician in his heyday could not pull off a stunt like that.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the very

heart and soul of our great Nation, its very life, depends on the right of each individual to his political beliefs—be they conservative, reactionary, or liberal. Many is the time that I have voted here in this House to protect the rights I swore to uphold when I took my oath of office, even though I sometimes violently disagreed with the opposing viewpoints of the individual or organization.

So I do not take issue with the gentleman from Michigan and the rest of the Republican establishment—with their right to express their political beliefs to the American people. But, I do take issue with them when they speak out in public, in strong support of legislation to advance social and economic justice, Government reform, and constructive foreign policies: While on the floor of this House—the only place it really counts—they have consistently voted against such legislation. I think it is wrong for them to tell the American people one thing and to vote exactly the opposite way. To be perfectly honest, on the basis of the gentleman from Michigan's statement, I was ready to embrace him as a fellow member of the Democratic Party. He seemed to believe in all the right things. But then I remembered the many, many times I sat here on this floor and watched his party do everything in its power to try to delay, obstruct, cripple, gut, and even kill most of the legislation that was written for the purposes of realizing the objectives the Republicans now claim they believe in.

The distinguished minority leader and his followers have tried to make a big issue out of the so-called credibility gap. What he has done by his statement on Thursday has been to create an incredible chasm for the Republican Party. Time does not permit me to point out every glaring discrepancy between the gentleman's statement and the gentleman's record as the leader of the House Republicans in the 89th Congress: I will just concentrate on the most obvious ones.

Let us begin with social security. The Republicans say they favor expanded coverage and increased benefits. One could almost get the impression that the Republicans are finally interested in protecting our mothers and fathers from poverty and sickness. Yet early in the 89th Congress, when the medicare bill finally came to the floor after 20 years of opposition by Republicans, they asked me to follow their "enlightened" effort and vote against it. Ninety-three percent of them voted to kill the bill by voting to send it back to committee for possibly another 20 years. After this motion failed, 49 percent still voted against final passage. This shows how little the Republican Party has changed since 30 years ago when they openly admitted they were conservative and when 99 percent of them voted against the original social security bill, in 1935, calling it "a cruel hoax."

In the light of the Republican Party's demonstrated opposition to social security legislation, why should Americans believe that they have suddenly become interested in the elderly and in expanding benefits and coverage to our senior citizens? Their blind opposition to

medicare for over 20 years, which they also called a "cruel hoax," kept millions of Americans from getting the medical attention they so desperately needed, but could not afford. While the Democratic Party was listening to the voice of America, the Republican Party was listening to the voice of the American Medical Association.

If a "cruel hoax" exists at all, it is the attempt of the Republican Party to make older Americans believe that they are truly concerned with their problems.

At least the Republican nominee for President in 1964, Senator Barry Goldwater, let the American people know his true beliefs on medicare and social security. He opposed medicare and he was in favor of completely dismantling the social security system by putting it on a voluntary basis. Of course, he was defeated by the largest margin of votes in recent times, but at least we knew where he stood.

Perhaps this is the reason the Republican Party is running for cover today and is trying to camouflage the old gray elephant with a different coat of paint.

Now, I don't want anybody to get the impression that the Republican Party is biased only against our senior citizens—for in the 89th Congress they not only asked me to vote against our elderly—they also asked me to vote against our children, when they asked me to vote against the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Then they asked me to vote against poor people by voting against the Economic Opportunity Act. They also asked me to vote against our Nation's Negroes when they asked me to vote against the Civil Rights Act of 1966. They even wanted me to vote against measures to conserve America's dwindling natural beauty and recreational areas. Why, I remember one occasion when they asked me to vote against hungry schoolchildren. This was during the debate on the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 when my distinguished Republican colleague and fellow member of the House Committee on Agriculture, the gentleman from Illinois, asked that we strike out an appropriation for \$17 million that would establish a program to provide breakfast for children who were coming to school hungry. When I protested that I could not vote against hungry schoolchildren, the Republican reply was "we are not asking you to vote against hungry children. We are asking you to vote against the appropriation"—a distinction I still do not understand.

As one reads the section of the distinguished minority leader's speech on education, one gets the distinct impression that with certain "minor" modifications, he is in favor of continued Federal assistance. One very innocent phrase he uses is that the Republican Party would "trust local school boards to formulate policies." This suggestion would, in fact, perpetuate segregated schools virtually forever.

Once again the distinguished minority leader conveniently forgot to mention that for 15 years his party has blocked direct Federal assistance to our financially overburdened school systems. When the opportunity finally presented itself to vote on Federal aid to education, 73 percent of the Republicans present



and voting opposed final passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—the keystone of direct Federal educational aid to students throughout the United States. If they had their way and there had been more Republicans in Congress, that bill would have been defeated.

Before you can make alterations to a house you have to build it. The Republic to make alterations to a house that hammers and saws ready to go to work to make alterations to a House that would never have been built at all if they had their way. In 1964, 90 percent of the Republicans voted in favor of the recommittal motion which would have doomed the war on poverty before it got started. In 1965, 82 percent voted against final passage. It is always the same story—the Republicans voting overwhelmingly against the war on poverty by using devices well known in this House—crippling amendments, motions to strike the enacting clause, motions to recommit and other parliamentary maneuvers which all lead to the same end—the destruction of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Republicans would have us think they are moving into this House with an alteration crew. I submit, on the basis of their voting record, that they are really a wrecking crew—they have tried to wreck the hopes and opportunities of our workers, our poor, our children, and our elderly.

Speaking of houses, the Republican leader very piously proclaimed:

We propose to enlarge the opportunity of low-income Americans for private home ownership.

But how did he vote when such legislation was here last year? As we all know, unfortunately, the vast majority of our low-income population is Negro. If there is any one way to help these people own their own homes it is by striking down the laws and practices that prevent Negroes and other minority groups from purchasing homes in decent neighborhoods. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1966 would have once and for all destroyed these barriers, and would have permitted every American to at least have the opportunity to his own home. But the majority of the Republican wrecking crew opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1966 in general, and title IV in particular. In the other body, under the able leadership of the distinguished minority leader, the gallant man from Illinois, they prevented, through the use of the filibuster, the issue from ever coming up for a vote.

We agree, that it certainly would be an ideal situation if all Americans could own their own homes. However, we know that many Americans would gladly settle for a decent apartment in a decent neighborhood. We also know that the Republicans have consistently voted against public housing since 1937, saying it does not work, that public housing is not the answer, and that private industry should be permitted to do the job. The Democratic administration in 1965 came up with a new approach, using rent supplements so that private industry could, indeed, build the necessary housing without government interference or funds.

The use of rent supplements was endorsed by every major segment of the homebuilding industry, including the National Association of Home Builders, Mortgage Bankers Association, the real estate boards and the building unions. But once again the Republican Party, instead of marching with modern day America, was marching to the beat of an 18th century drummer and voted 130 to 4 to eliminate the rent supplements program. Once again they were virtually unanimous in their opposition to a program that could only be considered a major step forward.

I think everyone would agree that the golden key to a better home—owned or rented—is a decent paycheck. To this end minimum wage legislation was introduced so that more Americans could have a better paycheck. I voted for this legislation for very selfish reasons. As a businessman I know there is nothing that I can sell to a man earning \$1.25 an hour, unless I am in the business of selling stale bread or secondhand clothes.

In spite of the fact that this country is now enjoying the greatest economic boom in the history of mankind, and enjoying higher incomes and a higher standard of living than ever before, the Republicans still voted to deny our most poorly paid Americans an opportunity to increase their tiny share in this great abundance.

Seventy-five percent of the Republicans continued their historic opposition to minimum wage legislation by voting to recommit this bill.

One idea that every politician can always be counted on to give lip service to is streamlining the National Government, getting rid of bureaucrats, reducing the public payroll, and at the same time providing more and better services. The gentleman from Michigan in his statement on Government reorganization made reference to this. We agree, that in an organization the size of the Federal Government, with its many departments and agencies, there is always opportunity to reorganize to promote efficiency. In the 89th Congress we had two major opportunities to make just such needed changes: The establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Transportation. Once again the Republican Party failed to put their votes where their leader's mouth was. Ninety-six percent of the Republicans voted to recommit the bill to establish the vitally needed Department of Housing and Urban Development, and 89 percent voted to recommit the bill to establish the Department of Transportation.

So much for Republican dedication to reorganizing the Government to meet our Nation's growing needs.

Conspicuous by its absence in the Republican message was any reference to one of the major domestic problems facing all Americans today, the decline and decay of the American city. The distinguished minority leader did not make one single specific suggestion for solving this crushing problem. He approached it obliquely when he said—and I quote—“At all levels of government a massive effort should be made to reduce crime, by attacking some of its basic causes:

Poverty, slums, inadequate education, and discrimination.” Nobody can disagree with this concept. But, the fact is that the Republican Party has constantly voted against the one essential ingredient to mount this massive effort—money.

It is very easy for the distinguished gentleman from Michigan to claim that he, along with other Americans, would like to see the end of crime, poverty, slums, and discrimination. But he has a very funny way of showing it. For while most Americans do not have the opportunity to vote for programs designed to solve these problems, he does. And he has invariably voted against them.

One more point to remember—the initiative, as well as the votes, for programs to wipe out slums, poverty, discrimination, and reduce crime has always come from the Democratic Party.

In the second session of the 89th Congress a new cry was heard from the Republican side of the aisle, “We cannot have guns and butter.” This has now been amended, I understand, to “We cannot have rifles and ruffles.” Of course, those who brought up this distinctly phony issue forgot to mention the fact that, in the many peaceful years between the end of the Korean conflict and the beginning of the Vietnamese war, when they did not have to make this choice, they still voted “no” on every single piece of progressive social legislation. Democratic administrations have always given defense needs the priority they deserve. However, they have also always tried to work for the easing of world tensions so that hopefully, some day, our defense needs would be reduced and we could devote more of our time, energy, and money to building the schools, roads, and hospitals that are so desperately needed, not only in America, but all over the world. To this end, the late President Kennedy said we should hold out our hand in friendship to all nations of the world. President Johnson proposed building bridges that would link East and West in trust and friendship. No one opposes communism or any other form of totalitarianism more than I do. But, if we are ever to build a lasting peace, we must realize that each country must be permitted to pursue its own form of government, no matter how abhorrent and foreign it is to our way of life. Our only stipulation is that they do not try to impose, by force or aggression, their political philosophy on their neighbors.

But the distinguished minority leader of the other body says no. There can be no bridges.

He suggests that, instead of bridges of trust and understanding, we build walls of hate and fear, as symbolized by the Berlin wall, the Iron Curtain, and the Bamboo Curtain. Unless we take steps to build trade with the nations of Eastern Europe, we are dooming our children and our children's children to a legacy of perpetual world tension, hostility, mistrust, and the continuing threat of nuclear warfare.

Intransigence in foreign relations, as advocated by the distinguished and able gentleman from Illinois, is an example of the Berlin wall mentality which time and events are making obsolete.



Mr. Speaker, perhaps I have been unduly harsh in my criticism of our Republican colleagues here in our beloved House of Representatives. But the distinguished minority leader expressed the same high ideals just last year. I recall the words of the gentleman from Michigan, when on January 17, 1966, in his state of the Union message, he said, among other things:

We must combine compassion with competence. This Nation can afford what is necessary to help the less fortunate among us to help themselves . . . the children of the poor must have the highest priority.

Think of it—these are the words spoken by the leader of the House Republicans just before he donned his armor, picked up his sword, rallied his men, and rode into battle to slaughter the very programs that would have helped the less fortunate, as he voiced the battle cry, "we cannot afford guns and butter."

I realize, of course, Mr. Speaker, there is always danger in prejudging any given statement. Under American law and custom a person is judged to be innocent until proven guilty. I think I have proven conclusively that the Republican Party stands convicted of indifference to the legitimate needs of modern day America, and in many cases, outright hostility toward those programs intended to correct inequalities of living conditions and standards. If I am wrong and the Republican Party in the 90th Congress does, indeed, vote and work for these very necessary programs, I will be the first to apologize.

On the other hand, I would like to serve notice here and now that if the Republican leadership does not live up to its pledge of support for the programs as outlined in their own state of the Union message, I, for one, intend to continue to remind the American people of the ever-widening chasm between Republican promises and Republican performance. I would hope and expect that a response will be forthcoming from the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RESNICK. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ERLBORN. I do not intend to respond to your entire speech, but you made one comment on a matter in which I had some personal involvement, and that was the creation of the Department of Transportation. I do not recall your exact figures, but I think you said that some 75 or 95 percent of the Republican Members voted for the motion to recommit, implying thereby that we were opposed to the creation of a Department of Transportation.

I should like to call to the gentleman's attention the fact that on final passage over 100 of the Republican Members voted in favor of that bill. Some 12 or 13 opposed. The motion to recommit was with instructions not to kill the bill but merely to separate the accident-investigating function from the enforcement of rules and regulations and the conduct of traffic in the airways.

I will call the gentleman's attention

to the fact that this principle was ultimately included in the bill as approved by the conference committee.

I do not think the gentleman can rightly draw the inference or prove his case, if he is trying to draw the inference, that the Republicans in the 89th Congress were opposed to the creation of a Department of Transportation.

If your examples are as factual as they were in that case, I think your entire case falls apart.

Mr. RESNICK. I thank the gentleman for bringing me up to date, but I would also say to the gentleman that I was involved in many, many of these other bills, and I spent countless hours on this floor beating back motions, and I recall one very distinct one when the gentleman from New York got up here and moved to strike the enacting clause of the antipoverty bill, and that certainly would have killed the bill.

I would be happy to go over the whole history of the bills in greater detail. I merely picked out a few of the more glaring examples of instances in which, wherever possible, if the Members of the Republican Party were not able to kill a bill, they gutted it. It might very well be, as you say, that on the question of the Department of Transportation that was a minor reaction. On the other hand, they certainly voted to kill the Department of Urban Development.

If you examine your record very closely you will find that my figures and my premises are quite correct.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

#### UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Michael J. Kozak, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., Minnesota branch, and Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of the UCCA kindly notified me of the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day which was January 22. I am pleased to join in marking this splendid day in the history of the Ukrainian people.

It should be recalled that on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian Central Rada issued a solemn act of restoration of the Ukraine as a sovereign nation, called the Ukrainian National Republic. This government, born from a national congress meeting in Kiev, was recognized by a number of governments, including France, England, and the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic.

Following a bloody, brutal war of several years, this infant government and its patriotic people were crushed by the Moscow government. Millions of Ukrainians were thereafter treated to harsh, inhuman treatment and persecu-

tion in the pattern of so many who have fallen beneath the yoke of Russian oppression.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainians have retained their identity within the Iron Curtain and kept alive the hope for freedom.

With nearly 500,000 Americans fighting in southeast Asia for the principle of national independence, we can well understand the continued struggles of people in other captive nations for their freedom.

The Ukrainians, some 45 million strong, are the largest captive non-Russian nation in eastern Europe. Let us reassure them, and their kinsmen in our country, that we have not forgot the 40th anniversary of their independence day. Let us make clear to them—and to all other nations—our continued commitment to the cause of freedom.

#### PROUD RECORD OF GREATER PHOENIX FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. RHODES] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, once a year through the administration's Combined Federal Campaign, the voluntary health and welfare agencies solicit contributions from Federal employees so they may give their fair share to the community efforts and areas in which they live. I am very proud of the record of the Federal employees in the Greater Phoenix area, for they have voluntarily contributed a total of \$81,703 for 1967. This represents a 38-percent increase over the \$59,270 contributed in last year's campaign. I think this record reflects in great degree the community consciousness of the fine Federal employees of the Phoenix area.

#### FLOOD INSURANCE

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which will provide a long-awaited, much-needed solution to a pressing problem confronting American homeowners in all sections of our Nation.

The bill provides a permanent flood and hurricane insurance program for our homeowners. The proposed legislation is the outgrowth of a thorough, exhaustive, 9-month study conducted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

This problem is not confined to my



district or to the areas represented by only a few of us. Indeed, the ravages, the losses by floods and hurricanes are experienced from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border, from one side of our Nation to the other.

In 1965 came Hurricane Betsy. When and where will the next hurricane strike? And where will it inflict its fury? Where will the path of destruction be in the coming months?

Wherever it rears its destructive head, it poses a problem we too long have failed to permanently solve, a problem we must meet in this session.

This is not a district, or regional problem. These natural disasters are the concern of all Americans and, thus, are the concern of all of us here today.

This knowledge—plus the fact that many Congressmen related to me personally their desire to share in introduction of this legislation—prompted me to seek cosponsors for the flood insurance bill.

The response which many of my colleagues made to this letter of invitation—in telephone calls, in visits to my office, in letters—has been gratifying.

In other years, we have tried to meet the needs of the people, when hurricanes and flooding brought devastation, by legislation on a disaster-by-disaster basis. But this system has been inadequate.

These American homeowners need the protection of a permanent flood insurance program, one which makes joint use of the best efforts of government and of the best efforts of the private insurance industry, one which will be refined, perfected into a readily workable program.

This bill which many of my colleagues are introducing today will meet this major domestic need of our Nation.

It is good to know that so many are sensitive to this need and are joining in its sponsorship.

This demonstration of unity gives needed impetus to this move to solve a pressing national domestic problem.

The legislation provides, among other things, that the National Government:

First. Pay the difference between reasonable premium rates on policies of flood insurance issued under the bill and the actuarial cost of such insurance.

Second. Assume the obligation to pay all claims in excess of a fixed amount covered by insurance issued under the bill in return for the payment of a reasonable fee by the companies offering such insurance.

Third. Makes loans at reasonable rates to replenish the reserves of an insurance company which are depleted because of heavy losses on property covered by the bill.

#### WHY WE SHOULD BACK OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there

objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the Young Men's Business Club of Jefferson Parish, which I have the honor to represent, has recently completed an essay contest in which students of the parish were invited to submit essays on the topic, "Why We Should Back Our Boys in Vietnam."

The thoughts that the winner, and two runners-up, have offered in their essays contrast sharply with the small but vocal minority of students who protest our role in Vietnam.

Through the minds of the winners of this contest, we can see that the U.S. position in Vietnam is understood by thinking students. I believe it is good for all of us to read these essays.

The essays follow:

#### WHY SHOULD WE BACK OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM (By Vickie Gros, Immaculate Conception School, grade 8, Marrero, La.)

Our boys in Viet Nam should be supported because they are fighting for a cause greater than any other in the world today. They are fighting so that a small country can maintain independence, the power to rule itself. This, many people in our country take for granted, because they have never been without it. But to the people in countries like Viet Nam it's one of the greatest gifts on this earth. With it you can be a free person, without it not much more than a slave and in some places even lower. Life is meaningless.

The troops in Viet Nam serve as living symbols of democracy to all nations of the free world. They also reassure all democratic allied nations that the United States will always be willing to render whatever assistance necessary to combat aggression. In addition to serving as symbols to free nations, they also serve as a reminder to communist countries that the United States will not tolerate any aggression on their part towards any of our allies.

Our Boys leave their homes, families, and friends to defend a small nation fighting to protect its freedom in the midst of the many communist powers of Asia. They go to remote areas where they can't tell friends from enemies, fight hard for the sake of liberty and justice, and many even die aiding a country that cannot help itself.

Not supporting our boys in Viet Nam would be equivalent to not believing in what democracy stands for. The mere fact that a nonsupporter is able to express himself in our society should be reason enough for him to realize why our boys in Viet Nam must be supported. For what goals are greater than life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

#### WHY WE SHOULD BACK OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM (By Richie Tankersley)

War is a terrible thing. It takes with it not only ruin and distress, but lives and suffering as well. While we cannot explain why war must exist, we know that it will always be, and, even though we cannot stop it, we can and must do several things to make it easier to bear.

Our American boys in Viet Nam represent freedom and a peaceful nation. In America, we are proud of our independence, and we are not afraid to let others know about it. Our boys, in turn, are showing their loyalty to their free homeland. With weapons and determination, they have kissed loved ones goodbye and have set off to win a war for freedom. Some are fighting hard and shall continue to do so. Some are lying in

crowded hospitals, anxiously awaiting the time when their wounds will be healed, and they can continue the long battle. Others lie on blood-stained battlefields, never to return home or find out if their efforts were rewarded.

The least we can do is to give our boys the confidence they need. Just a short letter, a card, a thoughtful gift—anything for our soldiers renews their spirits. If we lose faith in our nation or its power, what kind of feelings do you suppose our boys will have? Why should they try when their own country does not have faith enough to care? We must not let our boys down. They represent us, the people of the United States of America. And we are proud of our country—and our boys!

#### WHY WE SHOULD BACK OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM (By Michael Nee)

Wars are unpopular—any war. But, this is especially true of the war in Viet Nam.

The people of America have become so involved in their own lives—pleasure and making money—that there is little time for anything else. Because of the sacrifices that Viet Nam demands this war is very unpopular.

We must realize that the spread of communism has to be ended. The government of South Viet Nam has asked the United States for help to end this threat. If we don't end it in Viet Nam, it will be somewhere else. Maybe when we do decide to stop it, the problem will be much greater and it will require many more lives to solve it.

Any man in Viet Nam should have all the backing our country can give him. He is fighting to preserve our way of life. The fact that we don't agree is no reason to be a slacker. In past wars there were always those who didn't agree—but they fought anyway. The fact that we are allowed to disagree should make us realize how fortunate we are.

It should be an honor for every American to fight for his country. President Kennedy said "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

#### NEED TO REVISE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAW—VII

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, shortly after every male citizen, age 18, registers with his local selective service board, he receives a classification. Classification determines which men at any particular time are available for selection for induction; which men may be deferred temporarily in the national interest; and which men may be exempt and, therefore, least likely to be called. Classification is accomplished according to a selective service fact sheet, in the spirit of the law which declares:

In a free society the obligations and privileges of serving in the Armed Forces and the reserve components thereof should be shared generally . . . and that men shall be selected to serve in a manner consistent with the maintenance of an effective national economy.



Classification is the responsibility of the local board, subject to appeal. It is mandatory by law and regulations that there be no discrimination for or against a registrant because of his race, creed, or color, or because of his membership or activity in any labor, political, religious, or other organization.

In determining the classification of each man, the selective service board considers more than the needs of the Armed Forces for men. Selective service legislation declares:

Adequate provision for national security requires maximum effort in the fields of scientific research and development, and the fullest possible utilization of the Nation's technological, scientific, and other critical manpower resources.

Thus, the selective service contemplates the need of the Nation for a great variety of skills in civilian society, and the need for men in the Reserve and National Guard. Selective service determines those careers that are vital to the Nation. The local board may also decide in a specific case that a man should remain at home temporarily to care for dependents who would suffer extreme hardship if he entered the service.

But, the obligation to serve remains fundamentally universal, at least in theory. Every man is considered available for military service until his eligibility for deferment or exemption is established to the satisfaction of the local board. The decision reached is whether, at a particular time, the national interest dictates that an individual shall serve the Nation in the military forces or in his civilian activity. The deferment, however, according to the selective service, merely postpones, it does not replace military service. Deferments, however, may be repeated as often as is appropriate in the national interest.

The classification process, then, not only results in selection of men for induction, but by deferment, channels men into the Reserve and National Guard and into preparation for and employment in civilian activities in the national health, safety, or interest.

The local board places each registrant in one of the following classifications:

#### CLASS I

Class I-A: Available for military service.

Class I-A-O: Conscientious objector available for noncombatant military service only.

Class I-C: Member of the Armed Forces of the United States, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, or the Public Health Service.

Class I-D: Member of Reserve component or student taking military training.

Class I-O: Conscientious objector available for civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest.

Class I-S: Student deferred by Statute.

Class I-Y: Registrant qualified for military service only in event of war or national emergency.

Class I-W: Conscientious objector per-

forming civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest.

#### CLASS II

Class II-A: Registrant deferred because of civilian occupation—except agriculture and activity in study.

Class II-C: Registrant deferred because of agricultural occupation.

Class II-S: Registrant deferred because of activity in study.

#### CLASS III

Class III-A: Registrant with a child or children and registrant deferred by reason of extreme hardship to dependents.

#### CLASS IV

Class IV-A: Registrant who has completed service; sole surviving son.

Class IV-B: Officials deferred by law.

Class IV-C: Aliens.

Class IV-D: Minister of religion or divinity student.

Class IV-F: Registrant not qualified for any military service.

#### CLASS V

Class V-A: Registrant over the age of liability for military service.

#### GENERAL RULES FOR CLASSIFICATION

Sections 1622.10 to 1622.41 of the selective service regulations contain the yardsticks by which each registrant is measured for classification.

It is the registrant's responsibility to supply information to the local board to establish to the satisfaction of the board that he should be placed in any class other than I-A. Quoting from the regulations:

*Class I-A: Available for Military Service.*—In Class I-A shall be placed every registrant who has failed to establish to the satisfaction of the local board, subject to appeal hereinafter provided, that he is eligible for classification in another class.

Those classified in class II—deferred because of civilian activity—are so classified on the realistic philosophy, expressed both in the law and regulations, that it is in the national interest and of paramount importance to our national security that civilian activities which are contributing to the national health, safety, or interest should be disrupted as little as possible, consistent with the fundamental purpose of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended. Deferment policies have a positive effect of channeling men into preparation for and service in such vital fields as education, science, and engineering.

In the section devoted to general rules for classification in class II, it is provided that no deferment from training and service shall be made in the case of any individual except upon the basis of the status of such individual, as is the rule in other classifications.

The local board may avail itself of the assistance of all Federal, State, or local agencies to obtain information which will help it to determine whether a claim for occupational deferment should be granted.

Class II deferments are for a period of 1 year or less. If there is a change

in the registrant's status during the period of deferment in class II, his classification is reopened and considered anew.

At the expiration of the period of a registrant's deferment in class II, his classification is reopened. The registrant may be continued in class II for a further period of 1 year or less if such classification is warranted. The same rules apply when classifying a registrant at the end of each successive period for which he has been classified in class II.

#### CLASS II-A—OCCUPATIONAL

Proceeding from the general rules for classification in class II to specific rules for classification in subclasses of class II, key parts of the regulations are as follows:

*1622.22 Class II-A: Registrant Deferred Because of Civilian Occupation (Except Agriculture and Activity in Study).*—In Class II-A shall be placed any registrant whose employment in industry, or other occupation or employment, or whose continued service in an office \* \* \* under the United States, or any state, territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia, or whose activity in research, or medical, scientific, or other endeavors is found to be necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest.

*1622.23 Necessary Employment Defined.*—(a) \* \* \* A registrant's employment in industry or other occupation, service in office, or activity in research, or medical, scientific, or other endeavors, shall be considered to be necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety or interest only when all of the following conditions exist:

(1) The registrant is, or but for a seasonal or temporary interruption would be, engaged in such activity.

(2) The registrant cannot be replaced because of a shortage of persons with his qualifications or skill in such activity.

(3) The removal of the registrant would cause a material loss of effectiveness in such activity.

(c) The President may, from time to time (1) designate special categories of occupation, employment, or activity essential to the national health, safety, or interest; and (2) prescribe regulations governing the deferment of individual registrants engaged in such occupations, employments, or activities.

Provisions also are made in the regulations for the deferment of apprentices.

#### CLASS II-C—AGRICULTURE

*1622.24 Class II-C: Registrant Deferred Because of Agricultural Occupation.*—(a) In Class II-C shall be placed any registrant who is employed in the production for market of a substantial quantity of those agricultural commodities which are necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest, but only when all of the conditions described in paragraph (a) of section 1622.23 are found to exist. (See foregoing section)

(b) The production for market of a substantial quantity of agricultural commodities should be measured in terms of the average annual production per farm worker which is marketed from a local average farm of the type under consideration. The production of agricultural commodities for consumption by the worker and his family, or traded for subsistence purposes, should not be considered as production for market. Production which is in excess of that required for the subsistence of the farm families on the farm under consideration should be considered as production for market.



(c) The existence of a shortage or a surplus of any agricultural commodity shall not be considered in determining the deferment of any individual on the grounds that his employment in agriculture is necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest.

#### CLASS III-A—DEPENDENCY

Class III concerns dependency and the regulations are as follows:

**1622.30 Class III-A: Registrant With A Child or Children; and Registrant Deferred by Reason of Extreme Hardship to Dependents.**—(a) In Class III-A shall be placed any registrant who has a child or children with whom he maintains a bona fide family relationship in their home and who is not a physician, dentist, or veterinarian.

(b) In Class III-A shall be placed any registrant whose induction into the armed forces would result in extreme hardship (1) to his wife, divorced wife, child, parent, grandparent, brother, or sister who is dependent upon him for support, or (2) to a person under 18 years of age or a person of any age who is physically or mentally handicapped whose support the registrant has assumed in good faith; provided, that a person shall be considered to be a dependent of a registrant under this paragraph only when such person is either a citizen of the United States or lives in the United States, its territories, or possessions.

(c) (1) The term "child" as used in this section shall include a legitimate or illegitimate child from the date of its conception, a child legally adopted, a stepchild, a foster child, and a person who is supported in good faith by the registrant in a relationship similar to that of parent and child but shall not include any person 18 years of age or over unless he is physically or mentally handicapped.

(2) As used in this section, the term "physician" means a registrant who has received from a school, college, university, or similar institution of learning the degree of doctor of medicine or the degree of bachelor of medicine, the term "dentist" means a registrant who has likewise received the degree of doctor of dental surgery or the degree of doctor of dental medicine, and the term "veterinarian" means a registrant who has likewise received the degree of doctor of veterinary surgery or the degree of doctor of veterinary medicine.

(3) No registrant shall be placed in Class III-A under paragraph (a) of this section because he has a child which is not yet born unless prior to the time the local board mails him an order to report for induction which is not subsequently cancelled there is filed with the local board the certificate of a licensed physician stating that the child has been conceived, the probable date of its delivery, and the evidence upon which his positive diagnosis of pregnancy is based.

(d) In the consideration of a dependency claim, any payments of allowances which are payable by the United States to the dependents of persons serving in the Armed Forces of the United States shall be taken into consideration, but the fact that such payments of allowances are payable shall not be deemed conclusively to remove the grounds for deferment when the dependency is based upon financial considerations and shall not be deemed to remove the grounds for deferment when the dependency is based upon other than financial consideration and cannot be eliminated by financial assistance to the dependents.

These class II and class III deferments are among those which extend liability to age 35.

The following table contains the selective service registrants by classification status, June 30, 1965 and 1966.

	Number in thousands	
	1966	1965
Total living registrants.....	32,638	30,676
V-A, exempt, over current age of liability <sup>1</sup> .....	14,197	13,320
Within ages of 18-26 (28), (35) <sup>2</sup> .....	18,441	17,356
Unclassified.....	281	214
Classified.....	18,160	17,142
Total available for military service.....	1,121	1,977
I-A and I-A-O:		
Single or married after Aug. 26, 1965.....	451	(3)
Examined and qualified.....	70	(3)
Not examined.....	71	(3)
Induction or examination postponed.....	9	(3)
Ordered for induction or examination.....	178	(3)
Pending reclassification.....	96	(3)
Personal appearances and appeals in process.....	14	(3)
Delinquents.....	13	(3)
Married on or before Aug. 26, 1965.....	147	(3)
Examined and qualified.....	101	(3)
Not examined.....	17	(3)
Induction or examination postponed.....	1	(3)
Ordered for induction or examination.....	12	(3)
Pending reclassification.....	13	(3)
Personal appearances and appeals in process.....	2	(3)
Delinquents.....	1	(3)
26 years and older with liability extended.....	68	
Under 19 years of age.....	446	
I-O:		
Examined and qualified.....	3	
Not examined.....	4	
Married, 19 to 26 years of age.....	2	
Total now in service or reserved for it.....	3,513	2,872
I-C, inducted.....	422	240
I-C, enlisted or commissioned.....	1,880	1,610
I-D, National Guard, ROTC, etc.....	1,207	1,020
I-W, at work.....	4	2
Total who have completed service.....	2,434	2,339
I-W, released.....	6	6
IV-A, veteran or sole surviving son.....	2,428	2,333
Total who were formerly available but were found to have limited qualifications and are now deferred <sup>4</sup> .....	4,854	4,353
I-Y, qualified only in war or national emergency.....	2,354	1,928
IV-F, not qualified for any military service.....	2,500	2,425
Total deferred for other than physical, mental or moral reasons.....	6,130	5,505
I-S, high school student.....	492	550
I-S, college student.....	19	2
II-A, nonagricultural occupations.....	205	175
II-A, apprentice.....	28	18
II-C, agricultural occupation.....	22	19
II-S, college student.....	1,783	1,656
III-A, fatherhood or hardship.....	3,581	3,085
IV-B, Government official.....		
Total with original exemptions.....	108	96
IV-C, alien.....	12	10
IV-D, minister or divinity student.....	96	86

<sup>1</sup> Includes men who have also completed service under the UMTS Act.

<sup>2</sup> Sec. 6 of the UMTS Act provides that all registrants deferred on or after June 19, 1951, under the section shall remain liable for service until age 28 or 35.

<sup>3</sup> Not shown because of change in items reported.

<sup>4</sup> Includes 20-25 percent who received original IV-F classifications because of obvious physical or mental defects or for moral reasons.

On paper, the classification and deferment procedures of the Selective Service System may appear impressive and workable. But when the local boards sit down to hand out classifications and deferments on the basis of what they consider to be in the national interests, a potluck operation, replete with inequities and loopholes, is born. The reasons for this chaotic condition I shall analyze in subsequent statements.

#### A CONGRESSIONAL OMBUDSMAN WOULD HELP CONGRESSMEN SERVE THEIR CONSTITUENTS

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from

Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I have today reintroduced legislation, H.R. 3388 to create a congressional ombudsman. This official would help Members more effectively to serve their constituents who face problems in dealing with the Federal Government.

This bill continues an effort to improve and modernize the ability of Congress to respond to the needs of American citizens. I introduced H.R. 7593 on July 16, 1963, in the 88th Congress, and



H.R. 4273 on February 3, 1965, in the 89th Congress. I then testified before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, on May 11, 1965, and before the Subcommittee on Accounts of the House Committee on Administration, on May 19, 1965. H.R. 3388 differs only slightly from the two earlier bills.

The chief purposes of this bill are to enable Congressmen to help more constituents more effectively in dealing with Federal Government agencies, and to give Congressmen and their staffs more time to work on legislation on great national problems by easing the growing burden of casework. Yet, establishing a congressional ombudsman would not disrupt the existing congressional-constituent relationship. On the contrary, it would strengthen that relationship to the benefit of both parties.

H.R. 3388 assures this by providing that the congressional ombudsman and his office would exist, like the Legislative Reference Service and the Legislative Counsel, to act only at the request of a Senator or Representative. Only a Member could refer a case to the congressional ombudsman for review.

The bill delimits the types of cases which the congressional ombudsman would review:

The Congressional Ombudsman, unless he believes that the complainant has available another reasonable remedy, shall review the case of any person who alleges that, as a result of any action or failure to act on the part of any officer or employee of the United States other than those exempted under section 6 of this Act, (a) he has been subjected to any improper penalty or has been denied any right or benefit to which he is entitled, under the laws of the United States; or (b) the relevant proceedings are being conducted in a manner that is unreasonable, unfair, oppressive, dilatory, or inefficient.

The bill further provides that the congressional ombudsman, after completing his review, "shall report his conclusions and recommendations, if any, to the Member by whom the case was referred."

The bill makes clear that no Member would be required to use the congressional ombudsman's services for any case unless the Member so chose. Furthermore, the Member would be at perfect liberty to ignore completely any conclusions and recommendations by the congressional ombudsman.

In no way, therefore, would the congressional ombudsman interfere with the traditional relationship between Members and their constituents.

The congressional ombudsman would adapt to our constitutional system and political traditions the institution of the ombudsman first established in Sweden in 1809. The ombudsman has proved so valuable in protecting the rights of citizens against bureaucratic errors and abuses that the institution has in recent years been established elsewhere. Finland, Denmark, Norway, and New Zealand, have already set up their own versions of citizen's defenders, and Great Britain will do so shortly. The concept and term "ombudsman" have recently become familiar here in public speeches and the daily press.

Events during the past 2 years have thus made it clear that both the need

and the support for a congressional ombudsman continue to grow.

The growing need results from two types of pressure: first, new legislation by the 89th and 90th Congresses, and second, long-term factors which are increasing the workload of each Member of Congress.

The extraordinary record of the 89th Congress is markedly increasing our congressional mail. As new Federal services are extended to individual citizens, constituents are inevitably turning to their representatives with complaints about the action of Federal officials.

Several recently passed laws are bringing millions of citizens into a direct relationship with the Federal Government, often for the first time. Although Medicare began remarkably smoothly, many constituents have written their Congressmen for help in understanding how its provisions apply to them, and in due course, many more will file serious complaints arising from unforeseen difficulties or from faulty administration of the law. The social security act amendment which extends coverage of children in school from 18 years to 21 years influences the financial planning of thousands of families. Both the cold war GI bill and the scholarship provisions of the National Defense Education Act and the Higher Education Act are making thousands of college students dependent upon efficient Federal administration for completing their training and entering the economy as productive workers.

In addition, draft cases have in the past year already multiplied several times, because of the Vietnam war and mounting public criticism of the Selective Service System.

Furthermore, the draft operates less smoothly as military quotas decline in relation to the total draftable population. As a decreasing proportion of young men are needed, both the question "Who should be chosen?" and the administration of the answer increase in difficulty. No matter how Congress decides to change the present Selective Service System when it expires on June 30, 1967, the volume of military casework is likely to rise.

The long-term factors which I cited in past years when proposing the congressional ombudsman have in the meantime grown more significant. In particular, population keeps growing. Whereas in 1960 the average population of a congressional district was 410,481, present projections indicate that by 1980 the average will be up to 564,000.

Population growth and movement of Americans from the country into cities and from central cities into suburbs are making our society, and therefore, the citizen's relationship with his Government, ever more complex. In addition, his expectations of the quality as well as the quantity of rights and benefits, such as medical care and higher education, are rising. A citizen having a problem with a Federal Government agency may have administrative or judicial remedies. But these are often costly, complex, and even unknown to him. He therefore is likely to write to his Congressman.

Thus, population growth and rising expectations of public service are rap-

idly expanding the representative's traditional and valuable role as citizen's advocate against the bureaucracy.

Meanwhile, as casework becomes more burdensome and claims an ever larger proportion of each Member's time, his role as a legislator grappling with major domestic and foreign policy issues continues to grow. At home, challenges such as urban decay and pollution of our natural resources demand increasing congressional study as the public realizes that solutions must come from governmental decisions rather than merely from ad hoc groups of public-spirited citizens. Abroad, the United States is being increasingly drawn into the political affairs of Asia and has already entered a period of reviewing our post-war role in Europe. Such problems demand more time for thought and study and debate. Yet the growing burden of casework allows us less.

The congressional ombudsman is not a cure-all. But it does promise to help Members in responding to their constituents' legitimate complaints more effectively. It will also free time for Members and their staffs to spend on legislation and national policy.

The value of this proposed congressional ombudsman has been recognized during recent months both abroad and in the United States.

Abroad, in New Zealand, which adopted the ombudsman after the examples of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland, the Public Service Association, which in 1962 had rejected the ombudsman proposal as "humbug," is reported recently to have endorsed the ombudsman's work. This resulted from New Zealand's experience, like that of other countries having ombudsmen, that only a fraction of the complaints which he receives turn out upon impartial investigation to be justified. So the ombudsman's work tends not only to improve administration but also to increase the public's confidence in its government because it knows that complaints will be heard and examined fairly.

Great Britain, the latest country and the first large country to adopt the ombudsman, has significantly chosen the form similar to the congressional ombudsman proposed by this bill. Like U.S. Congressmen, Members of the British House of Commons have a traditional role of helping constituents in their problems and complaints against government administration. Although this role is not as highly developed in Britain as in the United States, it is an important part of the British political system, known as "constituency surgery." The British Government's "white paper" of October 12, 1965—the full text of which I placed before the House in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 111, part 21, pages 27889–27895—took care to point out that the establishment of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration is not intended to "erode" this role of Parliament and its Members, but to help them to serve more effectively:

In Britain, Parliament is the place for ventilating the grievances of the citizen—by history, tradition and past and present prac-



tice. It is one of the functions of the elected Member of Parliament to try to secure that his constituents do not suffer injustice at the hand of the Government. The procedures of parliamentary questions, adjournment debates and debates on supply have developed for this purpose under the British pattern of parliamentary government; and members are continually taking up constituents' complaints in correspondence with ministers, and bring citizens' grievances, great or small, to Parliament, where ministers individually and Her Majesty's Government collectively are accountable. We do not want to create any new institution which would erode the functions of members of Parliament in this respect, nor to replace the remedies which the British Constitution already provides. Our proposal is to develop those remedies still further. We shall give Members of Parliament a better instrument which they can use to protect the citizen, namely, the services of a Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration.

From this white paper resulted the Parliamentary Commissioner bill, which had its first reading on July 20, 1966. Prime Minister Harold Wilson next took the usual step of designating the Parliamentary Commissioner even before the bill was passed and became law. He explained why in a statement to the House of Commons on August 4, 1966:

In view of . . . the great importance attached both by the House and by many outside, to the earliest possible introduction of this improvement in our administrative procedures, it has been decided that the first Parliamentary Commissioner ought now to be designated. This will enable him to make as much progress as possible with the establishment of the necessary administrative arrangements and the staffing of his office before the Bill becomes law.

Sir Edmund Compton, then Comptroller and Auditor General, became Parliamentary Commissioner-designate on September 1. The bill came up for its second reading on October 18, when the House of Commons debated it at length and referred it to committee. Since committee action is a less important step under British parliamentary practice than under American, and is expected to be favorable, the Parliamentary Commissioner bill seems assured of passage when it comes up for third reading later this year. Meanwhile, Sir Edmund Compton has funds, authorized by the House of Commons on October 19, 1966, to set up an office and staff.

Great Britain's example may be followed by India. Its Administrative Reforms Commission in October 1966, recommended the creation of an ombudsman not only for India's Federal Government but also one for each State government. These ombudsmen would be appointed directly by the President of India and answerable only to him and to Parliament.

The spread of the ombudsman concept abroad has been matched by growing awareness of the idea and the need here in the United States.

Walter Gellhorn, Betts professor of law at Columbia University, published in November 1966, two books "Ombudsmen and Others: Citizen's Protectors in Nine Countries," which presents his detailed research into the workings of the institution in Denmark, Finland, Sweden, New Zealand, Norway, Yugoslavia, Poland,

Japan, and the Soviet Union, "When Americans Complain: Governmental Grievance Procedures" examines remedies which are now available to Americans with complaints against their government. Gellhorn describes and analyzes the proposed congressional ombudsman on pages 87-94 of "When Americans Complain." Gellhorn concludes that the virtues of centralizing casework "seem well related to existing fact," and points out that the "Management Study of the U.S. Congress," made by Arthur D. Little, Inc., for the National Broadcasting Corp., "supports the Reuss thesis step by step in reaching the conclusion that 'Congress should establish a central clearinghouse for processing constituent requests.'" Gellhorn states further that:

The Reuss proposal suffers not so much for extravagant claims in its behalf as, indeed, it does from the modesty of its aspirations. The [Congressional Ombudsman], as the matter is now planned, could concern himself only with the allegations that an "improper penalty" had been imposed or that a statutory "right or benefit" had been withheld. This would exclude many other abusive practices that, if found to exist, might possibly be abated by a respected outsider's criticism.

Gellhorn has done much to educate Americans about the ombudsman concept. In 1966 the Committee on Federal Legislation of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York issued its report endorsing H.R. 4273 my earlier bill. The text of the committee's report appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 112, part 17, page 22471.

Another important step in the educational process will take place October 26-29, 1967, at Arden House, in New York, when the American Assembly will hold one of its well-known and respected meetings, this time to examine the ombudsman.

Meanwhile, interest among State legislators continues to grow. I continue to receive calls for assistance, the latest coming from Indiana and Hawaii. Stanley V. Anderson, associate professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley, and a student of the ombudsman, reports that legislators in 6 States—California, Utah, Illinois, Rhode Island, New York, and Connecticut—have filed ombudsman bills, that legislators of another 8 States—Missouri, Colorado, Ohio, Indiana, Maryland, New Jersey, Oregon, and Pennsylvania—have shown a definite interest, and that proposals in Canada are now pending in 8 out of 10 provincial legislatures as well as at the Federal level.

Interest is also growing spontaneously among ordinary citizens. Columns such as the Washington Evening Star's Action Line are appearing and remaining popular in large city newspapers. The practical function of these columns is emphasized by the name of the Plymouth, Mich., Observer's column, "The Ombudsman." This was reported in September 1966, in Quill magazine by Mr. Jude Wanniski, a staff writer for the National Observer, in an article titled "Newspapers Play 'Ombudsman' Role," which Senator EDWARD V. LONG of Missouri entered into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD,

volume 112, part 17, pages 22707-22708. A parallel trend also exists on radio.

In Nassau County, N.Y., the county executive established on June 1, 1966, the office of public protector, giving him authority to "protect the public and individual citizens against inefficiency, maladministration, arrogance, abuse, and other failures of government and to encourage sound and fair administration in the public interest". This official is America's first ombudsman.

Finally, in New York City, even though its civilian review board was voted down by referendum last November, city officials and civic leaders of extremely divergent identification and viewpoint—including even the Policemen's Benevolent Association, which had led the campaign to defeat the board—united in supporting the call for a New York City ombudsman.

Thus, popular demand for and acceptance of the ombudsman concept keeps growing.

Congress would benefit in four ways from having a congressional ombudsman:

First, by reducing the caseload on congressional offices, the congressional ombudsman would free time for Members and their staffs to devote more study and thought to legislative and political issues.

Second, the congressional ombudsman could do a better job of protecting the interest of constituents than the jacks-of-all-trades in congressional offices who often find themselves somewhat at the mercy of more knowledgeable administrators. Members lack staffs large enough to have a separate expert in each field of bureaucratic activity. But experts on the staff of the congressional ombudsman would be able to protect citizens' interests faster and better. Gellhorn reports that:

Experience abroad suggests that an external critic's review of a closed file often discloses significant materials or raises suggestive questions that might not have come to the fore if the critic had relied entirely (as congressional caseworkers usually do) on the report made by the challenged administrator. Accessibility of the files to an ombudsman's examination seem not to have impaired efficiency or candor . . .

Third, handling casework on a centralized basis instead of in 535 separate offices would be more efficient and less costly. Gellhorn, after sampling how congressional offices handle casework, concluded that—

Those who cherish the good old ways of doing business . . . are likely to be crushed by the weight of the business to be done. . . . Most offices, however, have little slack, either in available personnel or in available space. . . . Unless Congress were to continue to expand its quarters indefinitely, a bursting point must soon be reached.

Fourth, the congressional ombudsman would have a unique vantage point from which to spot causes of citizens' difficulties with the Federal bureaucracy. "The implications of the individual case," writes Gellhorn, "are more likely to be grasped by the congressional ombudsman's staff than by a Congressman's often inexperienced assistants; complaints in the mass may dramatize issues that a seemingly isolated grievance leaves un-



noticed." Congressmen may be able to correct injustices done to those citizens who appeal to them, but the basic cause may go uncorrected while many individuals who do not appeal to their Congressmen suffer injustice.

The text of H.R. 3388 follows:

H.R. 3388

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Congressional Ombudsman Act".*

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds and declares that the increasing complexity of the Federal Government has created difficulties on the part of private citizens in dealing with the Government, that there is a clear need for the Congress to be informed of the nature of such difficulties, particularly those of a recurrent nature, in order that remedial legislative action may be taken, and that, under existing procedures, such information is only sporadically available and frequently is inadequately developed or falls entirely to reach the appropriate legislative committees. The Congress further finds that the necessary and proper efforts of its individual Members to deal with these problems have increasingly become so burdensome as to constitute a serious impediment to the discharge of their other legislative duties.

SEC. 3. (a) There shall be an officer of the Senate and House of Representatives who shall be known as the Congressional ombudsman and shall perform such duties as are prescribed by this Act. He shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate, without reference to political affiliations and solely on the basis of his fitness to perform the duties of his office, for a term which shall expire upon the commencement of the Congress succeeding the Congress during which he was appointed, except that he may continue to act during such succeeding Congress until he has been reappointed or his successor has been appointed. He shall receive the same salary as Members of Congress.

(b) Subject to the availability of appropriations, the Congressional ombudsman may appoint such assistants, clerks, and other personnel as may be necessary to carry on the work of his office.

SEC. 4. Upon request of any Member of either House of Congress, the Congressional ombudsman, unless he believes that the complainant has available another reasonable remedy, shall review the case of any person who alleges that, as a result of any action or failure to act on the part of any officer or employee of the United States other than those exempted under section 6 of this Act, (a) he has been subjected to any improper penalty or has been denied any right or benefit to which he is entitled, under the laws of the United States; or (b) the relevant proceedings are being conducted in a manner that is unreasonable, unfair, oppressive, dilatory, or inefficient. The Congressional ombudsman may, in his discretion, confine his review of the case to the material submitted to him with the request for review, or may make such further investigation as he may deem appropriate. Upon completion of his review, he shall report his conclusions and recommendations, if any, to the Member by whom the case was referred.

SEC. 5. All officers and employees of the United States, except those exempted pursuant to section 6, shall furnish to the Congressional ombudsman such information regarding their activities within the scope of their official duties or employment as he may require of them, and the Congressional ombudsman, or any of his assistants, when duly authorized by him, shall, for the purpose of securing such information, have

access to and the right to examine any books, records, files, or other documents, and the right to consult directly any officers or employees of the United States without securing the permission of their superiors.

SEC. 6. (a) This Act shall apply to all officers and employees of the United States except the following:

(1) The President;

(2) Members, officers, and employees of the Senate, the House of Representatives, or any committee or joint committee thereof;

(3) Judges, clerks, commissioners, referees in bankruptcy, and other officers (other than attorneys as such) and employees of any court of the United States, regardless of whether such court is legislative or constitutional;

(4) Officers and employees of the District of Columbia or any other local governmental unit not under the supervision or control of some other department or agency of the United States; and

(5) Any other officer or employee of the United States whose activities are of such a nature that, in the discretion of the Congressional ombudsman, the application of this Act thereto would be contrary to the public interest.

(b) For the purposes of this Act, the term "officers and employees of the United States" includes officers and employees of any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States.

SEC. 7. (a) The Congressional ombudsman shall make an annual report to the Congress. Such report shall summarize his activities, shall include reviews of those individual cases which, in his judgment, should be brought to the attention of the Congress, and shall set forth such recommendations for legislation or further investigation as he may deem appropriate.

(b) The Congressional ombudsman may, in his discretion, make an interim report on any occasion when he deems such action appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(c) Any report of the Congressional ombudsman pursuant to this section shall be printed as a public document.

#### **SENSIBLE SOLUTIONS FOR THE SEVENTIES—WOULD YOU BELIEVE 1870'S?**

MR. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HOLLAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

MR. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, the long-awaited Republican "new look" was revealed in the GOP "state of the—pardon the expression—Union" message by the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, the minority leader [Mr. FORD]. I must compliment the gentlemen of the minority side for the consistency of their "new look." It is the same "new look" that the Republicans have come up with every 2 years since the administration of Ulysses S. Grant. In a time of changing economic and social patterns, in a period when the world is going through vast upheavals and little remains the same, it is comforting to know that there is one place we can always turn to find stability, and undeviating fidelity to ancient principles—not necessarily to sound principles, or to principles that will work, but,

at least to ancient principles. Whenever the pace of change begins to dizzy us, whenever we feel the world shifting under our feet, we can always turn to the latest Republican effort to come up with a new image, secure in the knowledge that the brandnew, shiny, refurbished, dustproof, large-economy-size, polynaturated, filter-tipped, transistorized, fluoridated, mentholated, automated Republican image is the same old Republican image we have known and tried to love all these years.

And what is that image? What is that unchanging, undeterred, dedicated principle which seems to govern our friends on the other side of the aisle? It seems best to be stated, "To him that hath, much shall be added, from him that hath not, much shall be taken away."

We have a war on our hands. Like most wars, this one costs money. A number of proposals have been made for finding that money. The President has suggested a broad-based tax increase, affecting individuals and corporations alike. That can be described as the "let's let everyone pay" approach. Some Members have suggested selective tax reforms, shutting off loopholes by which those who profit from the war are handsomely enriched. These proposals, like the one for repealing the 27½-percent tax depletion allowance on oil, could, I suppose, be entitled "Let those who profit from it, pay for it." But the Republican proposals, as predictable as the dawn, are, in effect, to eliminate or cut back or restudy all the programs that do anything for the poor, the underprivileged, the disadvantaged, those who are discriminated against—those, Mr. Speaker, who, in numbers rather out of proportion to their share of the total population, are already furnishing sons for the war. This approach can be accurately called, "Let the poor pay for it."

It always amazes me, Mr. Speaker, that no matter what funds are needed for, no matter who will benefit from a public expenditure, no matter what the international or domestic situation, my Republican friends can always come up with some reason for taking it out on those who benefit from—those who desperately need—the meager benefits that the domestic reforms of the past 30 years have sought to establish.

"We are in the saddle as an administration representing business and industry," said a Republican Secretary of the Interior 14 years ago. And truer words were never spoken. If we are confronted with war, or the threat of war, we hear the demand to reduce domestic programs to pay for the war effort. If peace threatens to break out, we hear about reducing domestic programs in order to get back to normalcy. If there is inflation, it is always traced directly to Federal spending for domestic programs, as though, somehow, the Federal dollar which goes to a social security recipient or a Job Corps trainee caused inflation, while the many, many more Federal dollars that go into the hands of the military-industrial complex were inflation proof. They both get the same kind of dollars, and the military and the industrialists get a lot more of them.



On the other hand, if there is deflation, we are told we must cut domestic spending because there is no longer any need for it.

And while we are at it, Mr. Speaker, just what is domestic spending, anyway? Is there something nondomestic about the billions we are pouring, without any audible Republican protests, into the hands of the makers of war materiel? No, Mr. Speaker, that is not what our Republican friends mean. I have not heard the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford] recommend that military contracts with General Motors be stripped of profits for General Motors. I have not heard the Republican gentleman from California suggest that the aerospace companies be asked, as their patriotic duty, to make their engines of destruction on a straight cost basis, without the huge profits that make aerospace stocks such blue-chip investments these days. No, Mr. Speaker, all I hear from my Republican friends is that we must pay for the war by stopping our feeble, tentative efforts to make the society from which so many of our fighting men come a slightly better society for them to live in when they come home.

Well, Mr. Speaker, as I said at the beginning, it is nice to have some unchanging points of reference in this changing world. It is comforting, in a way, to know that the new vitamin-packed, jet-powered, precooked, hi-octane, homogenized, synchronized, flavor-controlled, uncrushable, miracle-fabric, power-packed, flip-top, pop-top Republican image would be instantly recognizable to Rutherford B. Hayes if he were with us still.

#### INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF GOV. LURLEEN WALLACE

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Nichols] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, January 16, the State of Alabama inaugurated a new Governor. Gov. Lurleen Wallace is only the third woman in the history of these United States to hold office as chief executive of a State. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, in honor of this event, and to preserve her inaugural address for future generations, I ask unanimous consent to have the text of Governor Wallace's message printed in the body of the Record.

[From the Birmingham Post-Herald, Jan. 17, 1967]

TEXT OF INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY MRS. WALLACE  
MONTGOMERY, ALA.—Following is the complete inaugural address of Mrs. Lurleen Burns Wallace—47th governor of Alabama:  
"Thank you, Governor Wallace:

"In the very beginning, let me thank the inaugural committee for all of the hard work which has been put into this colorful and memorable event. I want to thank, too, all of the teachers and public officials who helped make it possible for these young peo-

ple to come to Montgomery for this occasion. But most of all, I want to thank the students who have demonstrated such splendid talent and the parents of these fine boys and girls to whom we owe it all.

"I deeply appreciate the presence of so many of our friends here today. The office of governor is the highest honor within the power of the people to bestow, and I am grateful and humbled by this honor beyond the power of words to express.

"Ordinarily this might be a festive occasion and one of celebration. However, we are aware of the absence of thousands of our boys who are today fulfilling the highest responsibility of citizenship in defense of principles for which the nation stands.

"To the mothers, wives, children and loved ones of those in South Vietnam, my heart goes out to you, and I join you in asking God's protection and an early and victorious end to that conflict.

"Although they are not with us today, we are with them in mind and spirit, and I would like for them to know that their interest shall be my interest and that the interest of their families and loved ones shall always be uppermost in my mind.

"In this spirit, may I ask that all of you join me in silent prayer for the safe and early return of our boys in Vietnam.

#### DAY OF FULFILLMENT MEANING

"This day is one of meaning and fulfillment for me; for my mother and father who first taught me the principles and duties by which to live; for my husband, who for 25 years has fought for these principles and lived by the discipline of these duties; and for the great people of Alabama, who, by their faith and loyalty, have honored me by electing me to the office of governor of Alabama. To all of you—my deep and profound thanks.

"The past year has been an experience to me that comes to few people.

"I have had the privilege of traveling all over our state and meeting Alabamians in cities, towns, villages and crossroads. I have felt the outstretched hands of thousands of Alabamians close upon my own—in warmth and comradeship.

"I have looked into the eyes and faces of thousands more—and in those faces I have seen reflected the character of a people—evidence of strength and faith, and the assurance that comes from belief in moral values; and I have seen in those faces the will of a free people to remain free.

"This is the character of a people now known around the world and has brought Alabama into national and international prominence.

"This is the spirit of Alabamians. It was the spirit of our forefathers—and it shall be the spirit of our children.

"That is why I say today—to Alabamians everywhere—be proud to be called an Alabamian; for you have nurtured the flame of liberty when it needed your courage—and you will feed it with your strength—and the flame of freedom will grow in its intensity. And by whatever name it shall become known by men, it will have had its birth and its support as the great Alabama Movement begun by Alabamians.

#### "TELLS OF FREEDOM'S PRINCIPLES

"It was demonstrated by your governor whom you sent North and East and West, and whom you sustained by your loyalty and faith and prayers, to the end that he might tell the story of freedom's principles.

"The trait of character associated with Alabamians deserve the acclaim it has received, for it symbolizes an independent spirit, self reliance, energy, honesty, the love of labor, and faith in enterprise of the free—elements of character which in the past four years have proven that a determined people can provide, through their own efforts, the industry, the employment, and the produc-

tive wealth which, for nearly 200 years sustained the greatest war on poverty known on the face of the earth.

"And I can tell you this in utmost sincerity—I am humble and proud to have been elected to represent such a people. I am proud to be an Alabamian.

"For the first time in the history of Alabama, a woman has been elected to the office of governor. Ordinarily this matter would only be solemnized by inauguration and dutifully recorded with appropriate statistics by those who keep up with such things. But this is not an ordinary occasion. I predict that this event shall have greater significance.

"For those who may seek the real meaning of this occasion, it is my belief that it will not be found in any element of uniqueness. To the contrary, the significance lies in the evidence that my election provides a continuity of enduring qualities of our principles and institutions of self government that make state governments and elections a part of our heritage.

#### "RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF FREEDOM

"One element of that continuity can be demonstrated by this fact. In 1920, the 19th amendment of the United States Constitution bestowed on women the right to vote. Since then a woman has been elected governor of Texas, and one has been appointed to office in Wyoming. My election marks the second time in the history of the nation that a woman has been elected governor of a state. This is, indeed, evidence of adaptability and continuity in our institutions of self-government by which we have seen a rapid development of a larger meaning of freedom.

"This is an historic occasion—not by reason of any element of uniqueness, but by reason of the meaning underlying my election. This meaning can be illustrated in part, I believe, by the truth in an old saying.

"I recall from childhood that in the Spring my mother used to say:

"Out of old woods cometh new flowers, from year to year."

"My election, this occasion, has its roots in the soil of time-honored institutions of self-governments and the historic principles of self-government upon which they are founded.

"And just as the shape and form of flowers are fixed by its seed, so also are the shape and form of our institutions of self-government fixed and shaped by eternal principles of truth.

#### "PRINCIPLES DERIVED FROM FAITH

"These principles are derived from a faith in an almighty and benevolent God from which source, alone, comes meaning, purpose and directions in human life.

"It is from this faith that human life acquires worth and dignity and the reason behind man's claim to God-given rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.

"It is from the logic of this claim, that man asserts his right to freedom of conscience, of worship, freedom to judge, freedom to choose and freedom to associate or not to associate as he may choose.

"In turn, the right to self-government is based on the inherent right and highest duty of a free people to preserve and protect these God-given freedoms. This is no more and no less than what is said in the Declaration of Independence.

"It is this faith which gives rise to the virtues of human compassion, tolerance, forbearance, and good will. And it is by reason of these virtues that this great nation could absorb oppressed peoples of diverse cultures and traditions from over the world and continue to grow and prosper under conditions of peace and harmony.

"So, for one thing, my election has meaning as a demonstration of the continued vitality and continuity in principles and institutions



of self-government having their roots in the past as deep as the history of man's faith in God.

"This meaning has profound significance today. For there are many in high places who express dissatisfaction with our form of government and who scorn the faith and principles upon which it was founded.

"They proclaim to the world that 'God is dead,' and that therefore, government itself must plan the 'ends' of life and give it meaning and direction.

#### "BESET BY CYNICS, SKEPTICS

"Thus, we are beset by cynics and skeptics who pick at this great but admittedly imperfect fabric of free men, and in their picking exploit the imperfections and invariably offer as solution the transfer of power from the hands of the people to the hands of bureaucrats and judges of a central government.

"When the people will not give them the power to rule—by amending the Constitution—they seize it by judicial interpretations sustained by false and tortured reasoning.

"And always, the results are the same—a transfer of power from the people to a rapidly expanding central government. That these deeds are done in the name of our Federal Constitution adds blasphemy to their performance and the claim that they are done in the name of freedom reveals hypocrisy in their actions.

"It is judges such as these who are attacking and destroying the Federal courts—not those who criticize their seizure of power.

"It is judges such as these who are substituting for our traditional judicial system, a system of rule by judges—a rule that denies that the people have the wisdom, the character, and the soul to govern themselves.

"It is plain to see that Federal bureaucrats, who today lay claim to have power to impose percentage guidelines and who resort to threats and blackmail to compel local school boards into compliance, are already a part of a force which tomorrow may well lay down even sterner guidelines to control our thoughts, and actions, and every aspect of our lives.

#### "TO SEEK PARENTS' SUPPORT

"Even now, a Federal agency attempts to tell us the schools our children shall attend, to regulate the contents of their textbooks, who shall teach them, and with whom our children shall associate. This is an effort to gain control of the hearts and minds of our children. I resent it. As your governor and as a mother, I shall resist it. I shall seek support of concerned parents everywhere to help overcome this menace to the welfare of our children.

"Common sense tells us that the opposite of political freedom is political control. If control is exercised by force, we may be forced to obey the commands of a tyrant. But, the mere fact that force is used or threatened, is proof that the tyrant cannot control our convictions and must, therefore, suppress our liberty.

"These, then are the causes and issues which give deeper meaning to my election to the office of governor, for it is notice to all the world that the strength and determination of a free people to defend the principles of self-government will not be suppressed by force. Force from China, from Russia, from Cuba, or from Washington, D.C.

"It is notice that there are millions of people in America who do not accept the 'egg-head' verdict that 'God is dead.'

"It is notice that the people of Alabama, whose motto is, 'We Dare Defend Our Rights,' are not in a mood to sit idly by and surrender our constitutional system of government or a single one of its freedoms by default.

#### "PEOPLE ARE ULTIMATE POWER

"I entered the race for governor for the purpose of permitting my husband to take

our fight to the final court of appeal—the people of the United States in whom rest the ultimate sovereign power of this nation.

"The people of Alabama have rendered their verdict. We have received support and best wishes from all over this world, in a volume to overwhelm me with a sense of gratitude and to confirm the correctness of the decision made by Alabamians.

"And while my husband continues the fight on the national scene, I shall do all within my power to continue to give you good state government. So, as we call upon the courage that is our inheritance, we will continue the policies and programs and great progress we are enjoying today without sacrificing principle or losing sight of our goal.

"We are living in a great day and age. Our state is blessed with an abundance of natural resources. We are moving into the greatest period of opportunity in our history. We face the future with confidence.

"When there are challenges, we will meet them. Where there are obstacles, we will surmount them. The goal of our programs, of everything we undertake to do, will be to help provide a better life for all of our citizens.

"This has been the guiding principle of state government during the past four years, a period of unprecedented growth, progress and prosperity. I promise you a continuation of these programs and policies.

#### "TO CONTINUE ROAD CONSTRUCTION

"One of the first things I shall ask the Legislature to enact are measures which will enable us to continue the greatest road building program we have ever undertaken. In the interest of national defense, industrial expansion, continued economic development—the public safety and convenience, all these considerations demand it.

"If there is any change in my administration, it will not be a change of policy or priorities, but rather one of attitude toward our programs. It will be an attitude reflecting an inner feeling of a wife and mother.

"I believe earnestly that the family is the vital unit of society, and that no nation may remain strong unless it is founded on enduring family relationships as the source of its strength.

"For this reason, as a wife and mother, as well as your governor, I shall be inclined to examine programs of each of our departments from the standpoint of how they affect the family. I shall, of course, be interested in more and better job opportunities for the family bread winner.

"I shall be intensely interested in rehabilitation, in adequate care for the sick, the elderly, and the handicapped; in strengthening local governments, schools and hospitals and community facilities upon which our family rely; and in providing personal security of the individual, his home and his family.

#### "WILL STRIVE TO HELP SICK

"The mental institutions of our state, overcrowded and understaffed, must receive additional attention. The special state training schools for the handicapped, already doing outstanding work, can perform near miracles with proper support. We shall strive to give the sick, disabled and handicapped an opportunity for recovery—an opportunity to regain the feeling of self reliance and independence which means so much to each of us.

"No one will question the necessity of such programs.

"The duties and responsibilities of state government will never be completed; they will grow and multiply. We will strive to meet these demands, but we will work to safeguard the correct perspective—that government is the people's servant and not their master.

"In conclusion, let me say this:

"What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" (Matthew XVI 26).

"In the same line of thought, what is a nation profited, if it shall gain all the glittering material things in life—if gained at the cost of our freedom?

"Let us stand up for those who fight for the principles of our people.

"And now to you—the Alabamian—I want to thank you humbly and with all sincerity for your faith in me.

"I pledge to you that I shall do my duty to you in honesty and with conviction. With God's help and guidance and with wise counsel to call upon, I shall make you a good governor. I ask your prayers that I may serve you with honor and with grace, and that I shall not fall you in the trust you have placed in me.

"May God bless the people of this great state and nation. Thank you."

### FLOOD INSURANCE

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WHITE] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to join the distinguished assistant majority leader today in introducing legislation to provide a program of flood insurance, utilizing the private insurance industry.

My district in west Texas has been ravaged by floods and continues to live in the threat of reoccurring destruction to its homes and farms and ranches. This constructive protection program will fill an unmet need in our country.

My legislation is identical to that sponsored by the assistant majority leader in all provisions except the definition of that real property which is to be extended insurance coverage. In addition to covering one to four family dwellings, my bill extends coverage to farm and ranch lands and improvements on such lands necessary for the operation and maintenance of such farm and ranch lands.

The flood damage to agriculture areas in west Texas has been particularly severe and imposed unbearable economic hardship on our farmers and ranchers. These farmers and ranchers, like our individual homeowners, ask only the opportunity to provide for their own protection. My legislation would extend this opportunity to both groups of property owners.

### A MESSAGE TO AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS FROM THOSE OF HONG KONG

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, all of us



look on with dismay at the havoc being thrust upon the Chinese people at the present time by the Red Guard movement.

While we are sympathetic to the plight of the ordinary Chinese citizen, however, this time of trouble on the Communist mainland brings renewed hope for the future of freedom in that country.

An interesting analysis of the current purge of intellectuals which continues in Communist China was circulated in November 1966 by a group of distinguished Chinese living in Hong Kong. Their message is important and I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

**A MESSAGE TO AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS FROM HONG KONG'S CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL CIRCLES IN CONNECTION WITH THE PURGE OF INTELLECTUALS IN MAINLAND CHINA**

We, the undersigned, are Hong Kong's university and college professors, newspaper and magazine editors, artists and writers. Among us are those who have lived here long, but the majority have fled to Hong Kong from Chinese communist rule on the mainland. Nevertheless, all of us have one thing in common, i.e., that we are Chinese devoting ourselves to our nation and human freedom. Therefore we are particularly concerned over mainland China developments during the past decade. Moreover, living on this borderland as we do, having witnessed the exodus of more than 100,000 Chinese refugees in 1962, and by virtue of our continual contact with those penetrating through the Bamboo Curtain, we are confident that our understanding about communist China is greater than that of people living in any other areas. Consequently, we deem it our moral obligation to inform our friends among the American intelligentsia living on the far side of the Pacific Ocean of our impressions and opinions concerning communist China.

One hundred and ninety-eight Asia experts have issued a relevant public statement in the wake of a review of United States policy regarding China made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last Spring. We are at variance with some of the opinions expressed therein, for they do not conform to fact. Already some unusual events were happening in mainland China at that time. For instance, writers and authors who dared speak out their minds were severely reprimanded and purged, and the Red Guards have been rampaging on the mainland—an indication that certain changes were in the offing, quite contrary to the opinion expressed by certain experts in America purporting that the Chinese communist regime had become stable. Red China's anti-U.S. propaganda has reached an unprecedentedly fierce stage, and her disputes with the Soviet and other communist parties are growing day by day. These facts again prove that communist China has not mellowed its policies. On the contrary, she has been pursuing a harder and more dogmatic line. Her top leaders have begun paying special attention to the so-called succession problem in their determined effort to forestall the younger generation from turning toward a pragmatic course. Simultaneously, they are building up a model molded from the thought of Mao Tse-tung so that when the present communist leadership comes to an end, the take-over generation will carry on their hard-line policies.

The circumstances described above have manifested themselves more conspicuously during the past six months. The so-called "great cultural revolution" is spreading to all corners and all strata, and is designed to eradicate China's cultural tradition and the influence upon it of Western contem-

porary civilization, in favor of all-controlling Stalinism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. In the words of the Chinese communists, this "revolution" is a movement to develop the culture of the proletariat, to exterminate the culture of the bourgeoisie, to strengthen the class struggle and the "people's war," and to promote the thought of Mao Tse-tung throughout the world and change the world in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's blueprint.

The severe trials and tribulations of mainland China's cultural workers and intellectuals are something beyond the comprehension of Westerners. The underlying cause for this ill-treatment is that China's cultural traditions inherited by Chinese intellectuals and the influence exerted by modern Western civilization upon them are the complete opposite of Chinese communist doctrines. At the same time, Western intellectuals realize that the people under communist rule live in greater suffering than in the past. Unable to express their opinions freely, they resort to allegory in drama, literature, satires and other media to camouflage their dissent. This constitutes a crime in the eyes of Chinese communists, and that is why between November 1965 and July 1966 more than 128 intelligentsia people were liquidated, dismissed or persecuted in one manner or another. Among them were academic authorities, literary lions, presidents and professors of renowned universities, and even high-ranking communist officials—including members of the Party's Politburo and Secretariat, the Army's chief-of-staff and political commissars, chief of the Propaganda Department and the Minister and Vice Minister of Culture. The difference between the present cultural purge and those in the past is that any charge can be leveled against the victims; sometimes a charge involves their words or actions of some 30 years ago. The dragnet has spread to far corners, even to Tsinghai in the northwest and Yunnan in the southwest. To quote the Chinese communists' own words, "The scope, momentum, and the tremendous drive of the great cultural revolution now being carried out in our country have no parallel in history." (See *Liberation Army Daily* article, June 6, 1966.) The crimes of the purged are invariably "anti-Party" and "anti-socialist," although many of them have loyally served the Chinese Communist Party as important cadres for several decades. To reorganize Peking University, the communists mobilized armed squads to surround the institution of higher learning. To execute Yang Kuo-ching, a 19-year-old, mentally-unbalanced youth accused of killing a man, they staged a 10,000 strong mass rally. They say that the condition of intellectual elements in mainland China today resembles the activities of the members of the Hungarian Petofi Club in 1956, and it is possible that "millions of heads will roll." All these facts indicate that the Peiping regime is not yet in the position to exert effective control, and that dissenting forces and organized anti-communist activities are rampant in Red China. Even within the top communist leadership, the Chinese Communist regime is far from stable. It is unavoidable that the communists' power will be further weakened as a result of such widespread fierce struggles.

The purpose of launching the current big purge is two-fold; Firstly, to hold absolute control through the thought of Mao Tse-tung by suppressing all dissenting opinions; and secondly, to strengthen the people's consciousness of the revolutionary struggle by forestalling the sprouting of soft-line policies. Regarding the former, Red China's application of totalitarianism in controlling thought is more intensive than that of Hitler or Stalin. We are positive that the sufferings of the cultural workers and intellectuals in

mainland China are beyond the imagination of our American friends who enjoy full freedom. As to the latter, Peiping's fierce criticism of Soviet revisionism has virtually reached the same intensity as its anti-U.S. campaign, and all persons who advocate moderate policies are mercilessly purged. At the same time, the Chinese communists have thoroughly revised their educational system. Colleges and universities throughout the Chinese mainland have been ordered to suspend classes for six months, and all students have been sent to do labor reform chores. Their system of enrollment for new students has been changed, and only those with a worker or peasant background and well-versed in the thought of Mao Tse-tung will be permitted to receive higher education. Thus the method of training the so-called successors is one deliberately adopted to dash the hopes of some Westerners for a change in Chinese communist policy in future. It is intended to prevent the emergence of personnel endowed with open-mindedness and expertise, so as to block all channels leading toward a policy of moderation.

Consequently, we believe that the idea behind our American friends' proposal for a re-appraisal of the United States' China policy under prevailing circumstances may have been caused by their blurred picture of recent conditions in mainland China. We hope that American intellectuals will, from the standpoint of justice and humanitarianism, lend the necessary support to the suffering cultural elements there, and will refrain from appeasing the Chinese communists, to do otherwise will give the communist regime encouragement and aggravate the sufferings of the Chinese cultural workers.

Our American friends have mentioned the precedent of U.S. recognition of the Soviet government, holding that this move constituted a factor for improving U.S.-Soviet relations. Such reasoning has ignored the complicated developments in U.S.-Soviet relations during the past 30 odd years. To be honest, the year of 1930 was not the most appropriate time for the United States to extend diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union. For at that time Stalin did not carry out large-scale purges among the kulaks and within his Party, but U.S. recognition relieved him of his worry about foreign affairs. This past event should serve well as a mirror today.

In a nutshell, the aim of Communist China's current "cultural revolution" is to eradicate China's historical and cultural traditions and replace them with MAO Tse-tung's idea of revolutionary struggles. This fact negates the statement made by some American friends that Maoism originates from China's traditions. China's traditional spirit consists of loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, sincerity, righteousness and peace. These are precisely the very virtues Maoism wants to root out. There may be similar sources of Maoism in Chinese history, such as the burning of books and the burying of scholars by Emperor Chin Shih Huang, the foreign conquests of Genghis Khan and the brutal acts of a certain number of peasant rebel leaders. But these were reactionary movements against China's cultural traditions. Mao Tse-tung has inherited not only these, but also, more significantly, Soviet Russia's traditions as symbolized by Stalinism.

From the recent events in mainland China, it can be seen that the communists have brooded for a long time over transforming China according to their own blueprint, and over changing the whole world through the so-called revolutionary struggles of the proletariat. This is the total aim of their aggressive plot, but by no means a reaction caused by their diplomatic reverses as claimed by some American friends. Communist China's launching of anti-U.S. policy coincided with the American publication of



the "White Paper" on Sino-U.S. relations (1949). At that time the United States government was optimistically awaiting the "settling of the dust".

Another big ambition of the Chinese communists, synchronized with their plot to conquer the world, was to set up an international organization called Conference of the New Emerging Forces (CONEFO) to rival the United Nations. Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations was for the purpose of undertaking this task on behalf of the Chinese communists. If the Peiping-engineered Indonesian coup d'etat on September 30, 1965 had succeeded, the building for the CONEFO in Djakarta would have been completed by now and the conference would be in session there at this writing. For this reason, communist China will not be interested in becoming a U.N. member. Even if she were admitted, the world body under its present setup would not be able to control her; on the contrary, her presence would lead to U.N.'s own destruction. Are communist China's intentions of destroying the United Nations not clearly shown in her conditions for joining it? (See Dean Rusk's report before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on April 17, 1966.)

Communist China's growing isolation is a cold fact. During the past 12 months or so, the friendly attitudes of various countries towards her, such as Algeria, Dahomey, Central African Federation, Upper Volta, and Indonesia, have turned cool and hostile, resulting in diplomatic severance in some cases. The left-of-centre Kenya and Communist Cuba have also accused communist China of carrying out subversive activities in their respective countries. Within the international communist movement, most parties have drifted away from Red China. Even the Japanese, North Korean and North Vietnamese communist parties, all of which used to follow the Chinese communist line, have all shaken off Chinese communist control and are now pursuing an independent line. Red China's isolation has not been caused by the United States alone. So why should the United States help break Red China's isolation at a time when Asian and African countries are consciously weaning themselves away from the Chinese communists? Meanwhile, we wish to associate this situation with the "hungry tiger" theory. If a tiger wants to injure human beings, it cannot feel contented by merely getting a little food. The dealings of Central Europe with Hitler during the 1930's should serve well as a warning.

The Chinese and American people have a long, good friendship. The Chinese are ever grateful for the American support during the Second World War. The Chinese communists' frantic anti-American movement has by no means altered the fine sentiments of the majority of Chinese toward the American people. What the Chinese cherish most is the nation-building spirit of the American people, particularly the spirit as expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, which says that "all men are . . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Yet, precisely, these are the very rights the people living under Chinese communist rule are deprived of. Under the current "great cultural revolution," the masses on the mainland are meeting with greater sufferings than ever before, and their hatred of and opposition to their rulers have grown fiercer. It is incumbent on our American friends to focus their interests upon several hundred millions of the Chinese people, and not upon the oligarchical rulers. We hope that our American friends would study closely what has actually happened on the mainland in recent years, and not ruminate on academic

illusions. We hope that our American friends will continue to propagate the idealism of such great Presidents as Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson and Roosevelt, in order to deal with the problems of China policy in the spirit of justice and fairness—and will not obstruct the Chinese people's effort to shake off slavery and recover freedom so as to avoid the evils of materialism.

We sincerely present our convictions and opinions to our American intellectual friends for your consideration.

1st November 1966.

Chinese Cultural Association, 101, Nathan Road, Flat 1-3, 7th Floor, Kowloon, Hong Kong.

Chem Mu, Renowned Chinese scholar; Li Huang, Founder of Young China Party of China; Gen. Chang Fa-Kwei, Formerly Commander of the famous "Iron-side" Army; Liu Pai-Min, Formerly, Senior Lecturer, Hong Kong University; Wong Lan Shu, President of Chu Hai College, Hong Kong; H. Y. Hsu, Vice-chairman of Chinese Cultural Association; Chou Shing Sheng, Founder of Young China Party of China; H. Y. Chen, Managing Director of Hong Kong Times; Robert Der, Chairman, Kowloon Chamber of Commerce; Edward Tseng, Director of Hong Kong Branch, Central News Agency; Hsieh Yu-Wel, Director of Research Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies, New Asia College, Chinese University of Hong Kong; Poon Yan-Cheong, Chief Editor of Kung Sheung Daily News; Lee Chiu-Sheng, Chief of Editorial Board, Hong Kong Times; Su Ming-Shuan, Publisher of The Contemporary Magazine; Chow Ching-Wen, Author of "Ten Years of Storm"; Ho Lo-Tze, Founder of Young China Party of China; Yam Pe Ming, Chief of Editorial Board, Express Daily News; Chen Hsiao-Wei, Publisher of the Observatory Review; Huang Chen-Hsia, Editor of China Review Weekly; Liu-Shih Chang, Chairman of Party-Congress, Democratic and Selfgovernment Party of Hong Kong; Lieu Yu-Lio, Member of Central Committee, Democratic Socialist Party of China; Tso Yiu-Kam Hong Kong Representative of "Free China Review" Taiwan, China. Yih-Ping Chou, President of Fu Jen College, Hong Kong; Po Shou-Fu, Publisher, Newsdom Weekly; Chen Liu-Tu, Chairman, Hong Kong Publishers & Distributors Association; William Hsu, Editorial Writer of Sing Tao Daily News; Nelson Lew, Editorial Writer of Kung Sheung Daily News; Wang Teh Shing, Editor of Sing Tao Daily News; Lin Yu Lan, Executive Editor of Hong Kong Times; T. Y. Tang, Chief Editor of Hong Kong Times; Lai Chin-Wei, Editorial writer of Kung Sheung Daily News; Chang Kou-Sing, Author of "Eight Months Behind The Bamboo Curtain"; Ne-Yuen Huang, President of Kwang Tai College; Wong Shu Dao, President of Hwa-Kiu College; S. I. Hsiung, Author of "Wang Pao Chuan", President of Ching-Hwa College, H.K.; Huang Yah-Bai, Chairman of Actors and Actresses Association, Hong Kong; Wong Hoo, Well-Known Chinese Movie Actor; D. K. King, Editor of Democratic Review; Wang Tao, Publisher of "Human Life"; Lee Wei-Tong, Sports Commentator of Rediffusion, Hong Kong; Seakers K. Chen, President of Hsiang Kiang College; C. L. Hsu, Supervisor of Kiangsu-Chekiang College, Huang Yau Tai, Internationally Known Music Composer; Lin Sheng-Shih, Famous Music Composer; Daniel S. Su, Publisher of Cosmorama Pictorial; Phong Kao, Manager of Chi Sheng Book Company.

## NORTHEAST MISSISSIPPI SHOULD BE IN THE APPALACHIAN PROGRAM

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. ABERNETHY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues Congressman WHITTEN and Congressman MONTGOMERY and I have introduced legislation today which will amend the Appalachian Act of 1965 and bring to appropriate counties in northeast Mississippi the benefits of the Appalachian program. These counties should have been included in the original act. There was no genuine justification for their exclusion. They meet all of the criteria for bringing assistance to low-income and depressed areas.

Northeast Mississippi is in the foothills of the Appalachia area and contiguous to the counties in Alabama which were included in the program.

From the standpoint of low income, there is greater need for the program in northeast Mississippi than in most of the area included in the original act.

We expect to press hard for our bill and are hopeful of it being approved by the Congress at an early date.

The counties included in the Abernethy bill are: Alcorn, Attala, Benton, Calhoun, Carroll, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Clay, Grenada, Itawamba, Kemper, Lafayette, Lee, Lowndes, Marshall, Montgomery, Monroe, Noxubee, Oktibbeha, Pontotoc, Prentiss, Tallahatchie, Tippah, Tishomingo, Union, Webster, Winston, and Yalobusha.

## DEATH OF JOHN W. RUNYON, DALLAS PUBLISHER

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POOL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, Dallas, Tex., lost a great citizen and beloved civic leader last Friday, January 20, with the death of John W. Runyon, chairman of the board of the Times Herald Printing Co. and publisher of the Times Herald newspaper. John Runyon was a veteran of 55 years of service to the Times Herald, having risen from the ranks of newspaper advertising to the summit of leadership. Under his guidance the newspaper and broadcasting company evolved into a multimillion dollar enterprise and became a source of immense community pride.

John Runyon made the communications business his profession and his hobby as well. Until a few weeks ago, he always spent a 9-hour day at Herald Square. His fellow newsmen demon-



strated their esteem for him by electing him to a 9-year term as a director of the Associated Press, which he had recently completed. During his lifetime, he was one of very few men having served both as president of a broadcasting station and of a newspaper.

Through the years, John Runyon was known for his friendliness and personal interest in his thousand employees as individuals. Many hard-pressed families found their way out of financial difficulties through his anonymous assistance. His admiring employees established the John W. and Grace Runyon Fund at the Scottish Rite Children's Hospital, one of his favorite charities, which he long served as trustee.

He is survived by his wife, Grace Dowd Runyon, their only child, John W. Runyon, Jr., and a granddaughter, Mrs. Joan Runyon Still, all of Dallas.

#### COMMENT ON THE DOMESTIC SECTION

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Republican state of the Union message Thursday night was a fascinating political performance, but a mystifying policy statement. I could not decide whether the House minority leader was hollering "me too" or, "No, no, a thousand times no!"—that national anthem of the GOP.

It sounded like that same old ancient Republican elephant, without a dream in its heart or an idea in its head.

The minority has followed the tried and true precept that it is the function of the opposition to oppose. It all reminds me of a song Groucho Marx used to sing:

Your proposition may be good,  
But let one thing be understood:  
Whatever it is, I'm against it.

I found Mary McGrory's comments—as they appeared in the Washington Evening Star—on the Republican performance to be of great interest. She said that the Republican state of the Union address revealed that the state of the Union between the leadership of the minority party in the two great legislative bodies "is about the same, which is to say not very good."

She continued:

Republicans always clamor for unity, but are scarcely ever able to achieve it in their two-man rebuttal to the real State of the Union Message, which was delivered in the chamber of the House of Representatives by President Lyndon B. Johnson, speaking with one voice.

Miss McGrory said that "there is little to indicate" that the speeches of the minority leadership of the House and the other body "are carefully coordinated." She noted that the minority leadership in the other body does not concern itself

deeply with what the minority leadership in this body says and that the minority leadership in this body "has no control" over what the minority leadership in the other body says.

Miss McGrory continued:

The Republicans, crowded into the Old Supreme Court chamber of the Capitol to give the impression of "infinite riches in a little room," vigorously applauded the contradictory views of their leaders.

She noted that the minority leadership of this body "sternly eyeing the red eye of the television cameras said: 'The credibility gap must go.' Clapping rattled like musket fire."

Miss McGrory said that several minutes later, the minority leadership in the other body said that President Johnson's report on the war "had been candid and realistic." The Senate minority leadership of the other body also said that it was for "the most thoughtful discussion possible among our people of all political faiths."

Presumably the credibility gap which the Republicans say "must go" exists among the Republicans. They have been hard to believe for a long time.

We extend them our good wishes for solving this most vexatious problem in their ranks.

#### BASIS FOR THE SELECTION OF WESTON, ILL., FOR LOCATION OF 200-BILLION-ELECTRON-VOLT ACCELERATOR

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on December 16, 1966, the Atomic Energy Commission announced its selection of Weston, Ill., for the location of the proposed 200 billion electron volt—Bev.—accelerator.

During the past Congress I attempted to keep the membership informed of the status of this proposed facility because of the widespread interest in the possible location.

Under date of January 18, 1967, the AEC furnished the Joint Committee a summary-analysis setting forth the basis for the selection of the Weston site from among the six that were recommended. Included as an appendix to the summary is a chronology of the Commission's actions in the consideration of the site which was prepared by the AEC.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks the January 18 summary and accompanying chronology.

The Commission's proposed budget for fiscal year 1968 will include \$10 million for architect-engineering on the proposed 200 Bev. accelerator. The Joint Committee will hold public hearings in connection with this requested authorization in order to acquaint the public

and the Congress as to the justification of the project and the reasons for selection of Weston, Ill. I will notify the membership when the date for the hearings has been set. In the meantime, I wish to advise that Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, is scheduled to testify in public session, beginning at 2:30 p.m. on Wednesday, January 25, at which time he is expected to review in general all programs for fiscal year 1968. Some reference undoubtedly will be made by him to the proposed 200 Bev. accelerator. However, I expect the Committee will, at some later date, go into this matter in detail.

As I previously stated, I will give advance notice to the membership when such hearing has been scheduled.

[From the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C., Jan. 18, 1967]

#### BASIS FOR THE SELECTION OF THE CHICAGO (WESTON) SITE FOR LOCATION OF THE 200 BEV. ACCELERATOR LABORATORY

##### BACKGROUND

Selection of the Chicago (Weston) Site for location of the 200 Billion Electron Volt Proton Accelerator Laboratory climaxes the most extensive site selection action ever undertaken by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The search for the best site for the Laboratory formally commenced in April 1965 when the AEC issued a press release inviting statements of interest in proposing sites for the huge scientific facility. One hundred and twenty-five proposals were ultimately received relating to more than 200 different proposed site locations. On September 13, 1965, this list of proposals was reduced by the Commission to a total of 85 relating to 148 sites.

To assist in the selection of the site, the AEC earlier had entered into a contract with the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) pursuant to which a Site Evaluation Committee composed of eminent scientists was to review and evaluate site proposals received and give advice and recommendations to the AEC. Dr. Emanuel R. Piore chaired the Committee. Other members were Robert F. Bacher, Harvey Brooks, Val L. Fitch, William B. Fretter, William F. Fry, John William Gardner, Edwin L. Goldwasser, G. Kenneth Green, Crawford H. Greenewalt, and Herbert E. Longenecker.

During November 1965, the Commission dispatched eight teams headed by senior AEC staff member, to visit all of the 85 proposers and to seek additional data on the proposed sites. The reports of these site visiting teams were made available to the Site Evaluation Committee of NAS.

Since the inception of the project, the Atomic Energy Commission, as well as its staff, has devoted many meetings to discussing the Accelerator Laboratory and in establishing criteria and procedures for selecting the best possible site for its location. A brief chronology of these efforts by the Commission is attached as Appendix "A."

On April 1, 1965, the Commission submitted to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy a statement of "Considerations Involved in Siting a Major New Accelerator." These criteria were included with the AEC Press Release dated April 28, 1965, which formally announced commencement of the search for a site. On November 16, 1965, the Commission sent to the NAS Site Evaluation

<sup>1</sup> Withdrew from the Committee upon appointment as Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.



Committee a more refined statement of selection criteria entitled "200 BEV Accelerator Laboratory Siting Factors."

In March 1966, the NAS Site Evaluation Committee issued its report recommending six sites<sup>2</sup> from which it proposed that the AEC make its final selection of the site for the Accelerator Laboratory. The Committee stated in its report . . . "that no ideal site had been proposed and that the eventual selection depended on balancing the various factors of physical properties and environment. . . ." The Committee characterized the six sites which it recommended for final consideration as "on balance" being "clearly superior."

Upon receipt of the NAS Site Evaluation Committee Report, the AEC gave it thorough consideration and in April 1966, the Commission announced that it would make its selection from among the six sites so recommended. Since that time the Commission and its staff concentrated their efforts on the evaluation of the six finalist sites against the Siting Factors. As a part of this evaluation effort three Commissioners visited each of the six finalist sites. On December 16, 1966 the Commission announced its selection of the Weston site for the location of the Accelerator Laboratory.

#### SELECTION OF THE CHICAGO (WESTON SITE)

The NAS Site Evaluation Committee stated in its report that "Each of the sites recommended is outstanding in at least one of the aspects the Committee developed as being of major importance and as within acceptable limits with regard to others." The Atomic Energy Commission concurs in this statement.

#### National facility

In the judgment of the Commission the Weston Site is the best location for construction of the 200 BEV Accelerator Laboratory which is to be a national facility. As such it is essential that this Laboratory be readily accessible to scientists throughout our country and conveniently available to scientists of other countries.

#### Accessibility

The Weston site has no equal in terms of accessibility. Just 30 miles by express-way from the site is the Chicago O'Hare International Airport. O'Hare Airport offers unparalleled numbers of daily flights to and from cities near accelerator user groups throughout the United States. The site will be accessible even for one-day round trips for a very high percentage of such user groups. In addition it will be accessible by non-stop flights to and from European cities and other foreign locations. In addition, the Chicago area offers excellent rail, water and highway transportation. (See attached map—Appendix "B")

Although operation of the 200 BEV Accelerator is a number of years away, intimate interaction of machine designers, builders and users is essential from the very outset if this facility is to be the successful research tool which is intended. Its ready accessibility will assure that all available talents can be readily and speedily brought to bear on its design and use even though many contributing scientists may never be actual members of the Laboratory's staff.

#### Universities and Colleges

The benefits of accessibility go beyond those relating to construction and use of the accelerator. From the outset of its search for

a site the Commission has stressed the importance of interaction between the staff of the Laboratory and colleges and universities for their mutual benefit. The Weston site is outstanding in terms of its proximity and accessibility to a large number of important Midwestern colleges and universities having strong graduate and undergraduate programs in the physical sciences and the liberal arts. In the immediate Chicago area are numerous higher education institutions of various sizes. Among the larger institutions are Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, Illinois Institute of Technology, and the Chicago campus of the University of Illinois. At somewhat greater distances but within ready travel range are many other degree-granting educational institutions including some of the largest universities in the United States, such as University of Wisconsin, University of Illinois, Indiana University, Purdue, and Notre Dame.

The Weston location should be ideal for developing mutually highly beneficial relationships between the staffs of the Accelerator Laboratory and the surrounding colleges and universities. Arrangements for training of laboratory staff, including course work and night classes, appear to be quite feasible.

#### Argonne National Laboratory

Nearby also is the AEC's Argonne National Laboratory with strengths in many disciplines including an important high energy physics program. The staff and facilities located at Argonne could provide excellent support in the development of the new Accelerator Laboratory.

#### Physical factors

The Weston site offers many physical advantages for construction of the accelerator. The approximately 6800 acre site, consisting of nearly level land, will be provided by the

State of Illinois at no cost to AEC. The acreage is ample for foreseeable project needs. Bedrock ranges from 50-125 feet below the site surface; close enough to be available to provide foundation support where needed. The subsurface soils, although unusually strong, can be easily and inexpensively excavated by machine. There are no deep cuts that would require fill. Most of the material to be excavated for the accelerator tunnel should be usable as shielding.

#### Power and water

Electric service to the Weston site will be supplied by Commonwealth Edison Company which now has a generating capability of over seven million kilowatts and is scheduled to have fourteen million kilowatts at the time the accelerator is expected to go into operation. Such a large generating capability is many times larger than the 200,000 kilowatts that will be needed for the Accelerator and Commonwealth has experience serving large industrial loads of comparable magnitude to that of the Accelerator. Electric transmission lines already traverse the site.

Several ample sources of water supply are available to the site.

No special construction features should be required by reason of seismic problems or other natural hazards.

#### Construction cost estimate

The Lawrence Radiation Laboratory (LRL) and the architect-engineering group DUSAF<sup>4</sup> have estimated the cost of the Accelerator Project as constructed at reference rock-base and earth-base sites. In summary, these estimates show the following general breakdown for the original LRL accelerator design but (1) do not reflect the reduced scope of the project as is now intended and which is expected to significantly reduce the cost of the first phase of the project and (2) do not apply specifically to the Weston site.

	Reference site, earth base	Reference site, rock base
Engineering.....	\$32,000,000	\$30,800,000
Direct construction:		
Site improvement.....	6,700,000	6,000,000
Buildings and utilities.....	24,000,000	24,200,000
Injector, main synchrotron, and experimental area structures.....	88,500,000	79,200,000
Technical components and equipment.....	128,900,000	128,800,000
Subtotal.....	248,100,000	238,200,000
Escalation.....	17,000,000	17,000,000
Contingency.....	29,760,000	28,060,000
Research equipment allowance.....	40,940,000	40,940,000
Total project cost.....	367,800,000	355,000,000

The major portion, approximately \$250,000,000, of the over-all project cost estimate is not subject to significant variation by reason of site location.

The Commission and its staff have studied the estimated cost of construction at each of the six finalist sites. In these studies maximum use was made of the reference cost estimates prepared by LRL and DUSAF.

AEC staff cost estimates of site-related construction cost differentials have been made upon the basis of information submitted by the proposers or otherwise made available to AEC. They were made without benefit of redesign of the project facilities to reflect actual conditions at any of the six sites and without determination of actual soil conditions where facilities would in fact be located. The cost studies show ranges of possible construction costs within which the Commission and its staff have exercised judgment in determining the most probable total construction cost estimate for each site. Further refinement in these estimates would require performance of additional design work and testing of subsurface conditions at the site.

The AEC staff cost studies show that the most probable total estimated construction

costs for the Weston site is the least of the earth-base sites (Ann Arbor, Brookhaven and Weston) and may be quite comparable with those of the rock-base sites (Denver, Madison and Sierra). Less than a 5% differential is anticipated, which is well within the range of accuracy of the estimates at this stage. The Commission regards the estimated construction costs for the Weston site as reasonable both in comparison to the other five finalist sites and to the reference sites.

In addition to the general studies of possible construction cost differentials for all of the sites described above, the Commission gave specific consideration to the possibility of achieving significant cost and construction time savings by placing the accelerator at Brookhaven National Laboratory (BNL) in order to jointly utilize existing or planned BNL facilities. In the Commission's opinion

<sup>2</sup> Published as Appendix "D" to the Report of the National Academy of Sciences' Site Evaluation Committee, March 1966.

<sup>3</sup> Ann Arbor, Michigan; Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, Long Island, New York; Denver, Colorado; Madison, Wisconsin; Sierra Foothills, near Sacramento, California; and Chicago (Weston), Illinois.

<sup>4</sup> DUSAF is made up of the following organizations: Daniel, Mann, Johnson & Mendenhall, Los Angeles, Calif.; The Office of Max O. Urbahn, NYC; Seelye, Stevenson, Value and Knecht, Inc., NYC; and George A. Fuller Company, NYC.



some cost savings would be possible through design of certain major facilities such as bubble chambers for joint use by the Alternating Gradient Synchrotron at Brookhaven (AGS) and the 200 BEV Accelerator if it were to be located at Brookhaven. However, the Commission doubts that significant savings could be realized through increased usage of support-type BNL facilities without detrimental effect on the long term well being of BNL. Offsetting such cost savings that might be achieved at BNL in ways such as are discussed above, is the construction cost index applicable to the Brookhaven area which is the highest of the six finalist sites by a substantial margin.

#### *Operating cost estimates*

AEC staff estimates indicate that annual operational costs for the original LRL Accelerator Laboratory design if built at any of the six sites should be closely comparable at around \$60 million. Such estimated differences as are indicated are well within the uncertainties of the estimates. About two-thirds of total estimated operating costs are believed to be independent of site location. Such site independent costs include labor and overhead for the Laboratory staff, material and services, computer and film costs, etc. There are, of course, differences in operating costs components such as electric power rates, cost of water, climate related incremental costs, and in the cost of annual increments of capital improvements for each of the sites. However, these various operating cost elements offset one another to a degree that none of the six sites appears to have an appreciable advantage over the others with regard to total annual estimated costs of operation.

#### *Supporting environment*

The Chicago area is an excellent commercial and industrial center with many machining, electronic and other types of supporting facilities needed for accelerator construction and operation and the area has a well developed research and development base. Argonne National Laboratory is only 20 miles by road from the Weston site and can provide support during development of the Accelerator Laboratory.

The site is within 5-10 miles of several middle-size communities capable of offering attractive housing to the Accelerator Laboratory staff. In addition, Chicago and its many large suburbs are within commuting distance. It is only 34 miles from the site to downtown Chicago. High quality elementary and secondary schooling facilities are available in the site area as are excellent medical, cultural and recreational facilities.

#### *Other considerations*

With regard to using the Accelerator Laboratory to help establish new centers of excellence, the Commission concluded that the national nature of the project is of such importance as to mitigate against too closely associating the project with any one institution or group of regional institutions. The outstanding accessibility of the Weston site should enable the Accelerator Laboratory to have a large and beneficial impact on more than merely the universities and colleges closest at hand.

In its investigations and evaluations the Atomic Energy Commission included consideration of the climate of equal opportunity and nondiscrimination that existed in the communities containing and surrounding the six prospective sites, as well as the applicable state laws, executive orders and local ordinances.

The AEC sought and obtained assurances of nondiscrimination and equal opportunity from local government entities, labor unions, business and industry, lending institutions, professional groups, as well as assurances that there would be individual and common

efforts to prevent or offset discrimination and to deal with it promptly should it occur.

Information received pertaining to the Weston area reflected a progressive attitude toward equal employment opportunity, efforts to provide equality in suburban public school systems, and a number of community human relations councils devoted to eliminating discrimination.

The Atomic Energy Commission noted differing views with respect to existence of nondiscrimination in housing, and in certain areas more distant from the site, with respect to integration in public schools, but will expect that with the leadership of the state and local governments and with the cooperation and support of citizens and community organizations in the Chicago area, a broad satisfaction record of nondiscrimination and equal opportunity will be achieved.

#### *Conclusion*

The Commission concludes that based upon a balancing of all factors involved, the Weston site is the best choice for the location of the 200 BEV Accelerator Laboratory. The Commission believes that the merits of the Weston site and the scientific challenge of the project are such to assure "that management can mobilize and maintain the necessary specialized staff, both resident and nonresident to accomplish the research goals."<sup>5</sup>

#### **APPENDIX A—COMMISSION CONSIDERATION OF THE 200 BEV ACCELERATOR SITE**

May 10, 1963—General Advisory Committee/President's Science Advisory Committee Panel on High Energy Physics (Ramsey Panel) submitted its report, which, among other things, recommended that a proton accelerator in the 200 BEV energy range and associated facilities be provided as the next major facility for research at higher energy levels.

January-June, 1965—During this period the Commission considered the 200 BEV site selection question at a total of 11 Meetings. In addition, the Commission met with four state delegations and with representatives of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) Site Evaluation Committee on eight separate occasions.

January 22, 1965—The Commission approved the revised report entitled "Policy for National Action in the Field of High Energy Physics," containing a recommendation that a proton accelerator in the 200 BEV energy range and associated facilities be provided as the next major facility for research at higher energy levels.

March 2, 1965—The Commission submitted its first list of site criteria to Dr. Seitz, NAS. This list of general criteria became the nucleus around which later lists of criteria were formulated.

April 9, 1965—The Commission executed a contract with the National Academy of Sciences stating that the Academy would undertake for AEC evaluation studies on proposed sites.

April 13, 1965—The Commission established a seven member AEC Site Evaluation Task Group to obtain preliminary information on specific sites, carry out preliminary screening operations, and recommend those sites meriting further consideration and evaluation by the NAS Site Evaluation Committee.

April 23, 1965—The Commission initiated its search for the best site by approving the proposed "Guide for Preparation of Proposals for Siting New National Accelerator Laboratory" and issuing a press release containing the general considerations and siting criteria.

April 30, 1965—The Commission agreed

<sup>5</sup>"200 BEV Accelerator Laboratory Siting Factors."

that a review of existing AEC sites should be undertaken.

July-December, 1965—The Commission considered the 200 BEV Site Selection question at 49 Meetings. In addition, the Commission held a Special Briefing and six meetings with state and local representatives, and conferred twice with the NAS Site Evaluation Committee. The Commission concentrated on screening procedures, economic factors relating to site selections, and reports on site team visits.

July 13, 1965—The Commission initiated a review in depth of the initial evaluations of the Site Evaluation Task Group.

July-October, 1965—The Commission met with numerous outside representatives including five state delegations.

August 10, 1965—The Commission began reviewing and refining its criteria including further consideration of transportation and power cost criteria.

September 13, 1965—Following consideration of the recommendations of the Site Evaluation Task Group, the Commission submitted a list of 85 site proposals to the NAS for evaluation.

October, 1965—Eight Senior Staff Site Review Teams were established.

November, 1965—The Commission followed closely the activities of the Site Review Teams. The purpose of the visits was to clarify uncertainties and seek additional data on the sites. After lengthy review, the Commission approved and submitted to Dr. Piore, Chairman NAS/SEC, a final version of the site selection criteria entitled "200 BEV Accelerator Laboratory Siting Factors."

December 21, 1965—The Commission held detailed briefings with the heads of six of the eight AEC On-Site Review Teams (the two remaining reports were discussed on January 5, 1966).

January-June, 1966—The Commission considered the 200 BEV Accelerator site selection question at a total of 39 Meetings. The Commission was primarily concerned with evaluating the NAS Site Evaluation Committee Report, considering questions relating to foundation requirements and construction cost evaluations, and with on-site visits undertaken by the Commissioners during this period.

January, 1966—AEC staff attended two meetings with high energy physicists to discuss the AEC's concept of a two-step approach to an accelerator in the 600-1000 BEV energy range.

March 21, 1966—The Commission received the NAS Site Evaluation Committee Report and initiated a comprehensive review of it.

April 1, 1966—The Commission announced it would make its selection from the six sites recommended by the NAS and that Commissioners would visit the six sites under consideration. During the ensuing weeks each of the final sites was visited by Commissioners.

May 19, 1966—The Commission met with the NAS panel on Foundation Requirements.

July-December, 1966—The Commission considered the 200 BEV Accelerator site selection question at 18 Meetings. Primary concerns of the Commission were electric power supply and civil rights and nondiscrimination. In addition, the Commission requested firm commitments from the proposers regarding a variety of matters including the availability of land for the basic site, and future expansion, roads and transportation, overhead power lines, etc.

July 1, 1966—The Commission, through a series of letters to several federal agencies, solicited information about civil rights in the site areas.

August, 1966—The Commission requested confirmation of commitments from representatives of the six proposed sites and related matters.

September, 1966—The Commission gave de-



tailed consideration to summary reports on each of the six sites.

The Commission obtained the services of power consultants to review the adequacy of power supply systems as proposed at the six sites.

December 16, 1966—The Commission announced its selection of the Chicago (Weston), Illinois site.

#### SUPPORT OF SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, ever since the Social Security Act became the law of the land, the Congress has been called upon to review periodically this landmark piece of social legislation in order to insure that it remained a meaningful document by meeting the ever-changing needs of the society in which we live. The President, in the special message that he has sent to the Congress on amending the Social Security Act, is exercising his responsibility and I support his effort. It is now up to the Congress to work its will on the proposed legislation, endeavoring to make the benefits more adequate—while keeping the program financially sound.

#### UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BOLAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was the 49th anniversary of the date on which the Ukraine declared its independence, January 22, 1918. However, there was no Fourth of July type celebration in the Ukraine. Instead a heavy sadness weighed upon the hearts of Ukrainians throughout the world for the grievous loss of that independence. Their proximity to the Soviet Union and their vast natural resources long coveted by the Russians forewarned an invasion. Within barely 3 years of gaining independence, the Communists had through armed force and infiltration reconquered the Ukraine.

Few people have had their commitment to freedom so sorely tested as the Ukrainians. For centuries prior to declaring their right of self-determination, the Ukraine was almost continually a battlefield. Whether by mustering Ukrainian armies or through spontaneous small revolts, the Ukrainians strove to defend their nation. Their battered nation was conquered and divided in a fluctuating pattern by its surrounding neighbors. At the beginning of the 18th century, the czarist regime of Russia began a long-continued policy of consol-

idation and incorporation of the bulk of the Ukraine.

Throughout this long period of Russian subjugation, the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people was sustained. Nor has nearly 50 years of Communist indoctrination succeeded in supplanting that consciousness with Marxist ideology. The fire of liberty has flickered in Ukrainian breasts throughout centuries of darkness. It continues to flicker even within the confines of an all-pervasive Communist system.

We share with the Ukrainian people that sense of tragedy with which they regard the anniversary of an independence denied them. We are impressed and inspired by their relentless quest for freedom. We add our fervent hopes to theirs for the hastening of that day when they can again proudly say "I am a Ukrainian" and not "I am a Russian."

#### OLDER AMERICANS

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of our colleagues a particular recommendation in the message on the elderly which the President today sent to the Congress. The 25-percent increase in funds available under the Older Americans Act is very much needed.

This statute is known as the Fogarty-McNamara Act—so named for two of the best friends America's older citizens ever had in the U.S. Congress. I refer, of course, to our late colleague, John Fogarty, whose passing just hours before the 90th Congress convened, has left a great void in this body. The man in the Senate most identified with the Older Americans Act was the late, great Michigan Senator, Pat McNamara, who died last year.

The increased funds for the Older Americans Act, as recommended today by the President, would enable States and communities to improve their community service and assure the continuation of the excellent programs just getting underway for older people across the Nation.

It has become clear that a rapid growth in the grant programs of the Older Americans Act is required if major progress is to be made toward the achievement of the objectives of this measure.

The needs of our 18½ million older citizens are great. We must develop an awareness of these needs. We must help them develop local programs which will improve their daily lives. We have here a real opportunity for progress in a largely neglected area of social policy.

I also want to emphasize the importance of the recommendation to provide food and other nutritional services for older people, including home-delivered

meals, and nutritional information and education.

Poor nutrition of the elderly has more than one cause. Low income, loneliness and chronic physical illnesses or disabilities all contribute to the inability of many older people to secure an adequate diet. Increasing their incomes alone is not enough. We must have a program, based primarily in multipurpose senior centers, which can provide older people with direct meal services and with information and education in good nutrition.

#### DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR MOOT, OF SBA, STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION FOR PROGRESS IN LEBANON, TENN.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert C. Moot, Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration, recently addressed the jaycees distinguished award banquet in Lebanon, Tenn., in the great Fourth Congressional District of Tennessee, the district which I am honored to represent in the Congress.

Mr. Moot emphasized the importance of cooperation between business, government, and communities in a unified effort to achieve growth and progress. He stressed the importance of the role of the Small Business Administration in strengthening our free enterprise system and complimented the great work of the jaycees.

We appreciate Mr. Moot's participation in this most worthwhile event and because of the interest of my colleagues and the Nation generally in the main themes of his address, I have asked unanimous consent that his remarks be reprinted in the RECORD.

The address follows:

REMARKS OF DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR ROBERT C. MOOT, SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, AT THE JAYCEES DISTINGUISHED AWARD BANQUET, LEBANON, TENN., FEBRUARY 2, 1967

During my travels I have had the pleasure of visiting many small American towns. These visits always have made me feel close to the traditions and spirit that have made this country great. I can now add Lebanon to my list. Why it has taken me this long to see this attractive community, I really don't know. I hope you will not conclude that it was because I lacked a sense of appreciation for the finer things in life.

The more I have thought about this banquet, in this community setting, in this country, at this time in world history—the more I am convinced that it is very appropriate for a representative of the Small Business Administration to be with you tonight. There is, I believe, a single chain which links all of us and the various circumstances which are related to this award ceremony.

Since the earliest days of our country we have equated the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to our ability to



control the course of our individual economic destiny.

We seek work where we please and of the type that is most rewarding to each of us. We select an academic or professional career, a government or business career or a self-determined combination. And if we pick a business career, we can be employee or employer. All of these alternatives we have the right to consider and to select to the extent of our ability.

But rights must be protected and assured. In the same document which claimed these unalienable rights, Congress declared, "that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

And so the people of the United States and their Government joined together in the beginning in a common cause. It was—and is—the responsibility of the people to secure a richer, fuller life for all through economic growth in a competitive, free, private enterprise system. It was—and is—the responsibility of your government to aid and encourage the efforts of its citizens, to be an advocate for those who seek to exercise their economic rights and to protect them against those who would deny these rights.

Let us look at the community of Lebanon, the Jaycees and this affair, the Small Business Administration, and your Government. I find there is a common theme which binds all of us to the finest of American tradition.

Cumberland University, where we meet tonight, is the alma mater of a distinguished roster of former and present Members of Congress, six of whom either were or are chairmen of important congressional committees.

Included in this number is your own Congressman, JOE L. EVINS, who is the chairman of a committee we consider extremely important and directly related to our common theme of tonight—the House Committee on Small Business. He is also chairman of the Subcommittee on Independent Office Appropriations.

The list of his present and former colleagues who are Cumberland graduates is equally impressive: Oren Harris, of Arkansas, former chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Frank Chelf of Kentucky, THOMAS ABERNETHY of Mississippi, chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Research and Extension, Tom Murray of Tennessee, former chairman of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, OMAR BURLISON of Texas, chairman of the House Committee on Administration, and, of course, WRIGHT PATMAN of Texas, chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

There is a distinct pattern and a common pattern to be seen in the careers of these distinguished legislators. The similarity of the pattern argues against coincidence as an explanation. The community itself, as well as the faculty of the school, must have contributed to the economic knowledge and growth of these men. Together, as well as separately, they have been champions and protectors of our individual economic rights. In a very real sense they have added significantly to that heritage of open access to the wide horizons of the private enterprise system which we all enjoy. Lebanon can and should be proud of them.

As a community, Lebanon has contributed to our national goals not only through its local business and academic growth but also—and significantly—by graduating and sending men of national stature to guide our legislative department in Washington.

Now, how does the junior chamber of commerce, the Jaycees, fit into our common theme of economic growth in the American tradition? Again, we see a healthy balance in the cooperative efforts of the private and public sectors of our economy. Several hundred thousand Jaycees at the local level are

training to be the leaders of tomorrow by working on constructive civic improvement projects. Nowhere is the objective of economic growth in the American way better exemplified than in this grass roots program—a program which links the community, the business world, and the youth of today in a common effort to improve our way of life. Tonight's award reflects the type of achievement which can be realized if we work together. The community of Lebanon can and should be proud of this achievement.

Is there a place for the Small Business Administration in this mutual effort of economic growth? Is the small business concern important to the American way of life? There are many reasons why it is.

All big businesses were small at one time and the only sure way to prevent the concentration of most resources into a few private hands or into the hands of the Government is to make certain that there is open access to the business world for all of us.

More than 95 percent of all concerns in the country are small in size, and are independently owned and operated. More than 40 percent of the Nation's employed are in small business. We must keep it that way or better. Assurance of economic freedom for the individual means that we must protect and encourage the use of these rights.

Small business assures adequate competition; it is the cradle for the birth of new, imaginative and useful products. It opens new employment areas so necessary to continued economic growth and well being. The door must be kept open for the small business to start, to take root and to flourish.

How does the Small Business Administration contribute to the welfare of the small business concern? It gives away no money, makes no grants, accepts knowingly no bad loans and is dedicated to encouraging the private enterprise system. And yet, through the far-sighted wisdom of congressional leaders, such as those we have mentioned, and the round-the-clock efforts of an inspired administrator, Mr. Bernard L. Boutin, it has many tools and is skillfully using all of them to aid, encourage and protect the growth of the small business sector of our economy. It is because of these programs that I think an SBA representative should be here tonight, joining in a tribute to initiative and ability, in the recognition of economic and civic growth through cooperative effort.

The SBA programs are based on the same fundamental premise which supports our entire economy.

We co-sponsor special management courses with colleges and universities. These have been attended by nearly 150,000 businessmen throughout the country.

The results must be very satisfactory. A manager of a small business was asked if he would recommend such a course to his friends. His answer was, "Yes, but not to my competitors."

Other programs seem to be equally popular. We have developed and published what is perhaps the largest library of small business management publications in the world.

Two years ago we created SCORE, the Service Corps of Retired Executives. This program channeled a vast, untapped reservoir of executive talent to an area where it was vitally needed—the Nation's small business community.

Today, 3,000 SCORE members, all volunteers, are giving small businessmen individual counseling—giving them the benefit of their own experience and know-how so that they, too, can become successful in their own right.

In addition, we have a small business advisory council in each State. These councils, composed of leading businessmen, bankers and educators, serve the SBA and the public

without pay and provide needed practical recommendations to the SBA administrator.

SBA, however, does more than aid and counsel. It acts as an aggressive advocate for small business. It assures that an equitable share of government procurement is awarded to the smaller concerns. It enables the worthy small business concerns to borrow funds for initiation or expansion. When funds are not available in the private sector, SBA will lend limited amounts of government funds just as long as there is a reasonable assurance of repayment.

The bankers of the country and the SBA have developed a fine working relationship—more than one-third of the loans which SBA is now approving do not involve any government money. The small businessman is helped in his own community by his friends and neighbors whose savings he borrows through the local bank. We think the community can and should be proud of this joint public and private effort.

At this point it might be well to put all these pieces together—the Jaycees, the community and the Government—to see how well we are working as a team.

In the past five years, the economic growth of the country has been increased by \$100 billion, mostly in real value. It is expected that this rate will continue.

Yet, at the same time we are experiencing this sound, unprecedented growth, we are fighting a costly war some 10,000 miles across the Pacific. Each month hundreds of ships and hundreds of aircraft transport more than a million tons of supplies to our troops in southeast Asia. We are providing seven pounds of food per man per day. These troops are the best equipped and fed of any army in history—more than 85 percent of all the meals served in South Vietnam are hot meals with fresh meat and vegetables.

Is it a strain on all of us to support this effort? Of course it is—but the President has asked for no price controls, no wage controls or no rationing of our daily domestic needs.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think this proves that our system is healthy, strong and the right one for us. We can and should be proud of our heritage and our future.

Thank you.

#### TEACHERS SABBATICAL LEAVE BILL

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK] may extend her remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing my bill to establish a program of sabbatical leave grants for experienced teachers in elementary and secondary schools. This bill, which was reported out of the Committee on Education and Labor as H.R. 10622 on September 2, 1965, during the 89th Congress, received the unanimous endorsement of teachers' organizations presenting testimony to the committee.

It is recognized on every hand that our culture is changing rapidly and dynamically. As new breakthroughs are made in some fields of knowledge and whole concepts are revised and updated in others, technological changes have wrought dramatic transformations in the appearance and the quality of the world we inhabit. The concepts and techniques I was taught in the public school



classroom are hopelessly outdated already, yet many of the same teachers who taught me are still laboring in the classrooms. What resources do they have available to keep themselves abreast of the changes in methodology and knowledge so that the students in their charge do not receive an outmoded and thereby worthless education?

Many of our dedicated public school teachers attempt to improve themselves by attending night classes in nearby colleges, others spend their summers taking the necessary course work. The value of this renewal of learning is recognized universally by school administrators and school boards, which in districts throughout the country require certain minimum amounts of continuing formal study if teachers are to retain their accreditation. Thus in most cases, it becomes imperative for the teacher to have the opportunity to enroll in classes in order to hold his position.

Another overpowering evidence of the value placed on continuing education is illustrated by the growing practice of school boards authorizing incentive pay boosts for certain amounts of course work over and above the basic degree work. Virtually every school district in the Nation pays more for the master's degree than it does for the bachelor's, and many of them offer the same salary increases for the equivalent course work whether the degree is obtained or not.

Our colleges and universities recognize the necessity of providing sabbatical leaves to keep the teacher and his subject matter vitalized, but this thinking has not been applied at the elementary and secondary level where it is perhaps even more necessary.

Surely no one will dispute that the world we inhabit in 1967 is a far different world than that of 1947, or even of 1957. Society is constantly in flux, patterns of living change, cities grow and present new problems in sociological orientation. Increasing attention has been focused on the problems of disadvantaged youth, school dropouts, juvenile delinquency, job retraining, children with learning disabilities, racial integration—all these cultural concerns demanding radically modern and sophisticated approaches to teaching.

As society evolves and becomes increasingly altered by technology, so the discipline of teaching cannot remain untouched. How many of our teachers in the public schools today have been in the classroom recently enough to have absorbed any instruction in programmed learning, teaching machines, team teaching, ungraded classes, educational television, and a host of other new developments which promise to bring education out of the horse-and-buggy era?

It becomes imperative that we provide the means whereby teachers may devote their valuable time to full-time study in the areas mentioned above. Not only are teachers' salaries universally too low to allow any teacher to put enough money aside to take off a year on his own to return to college, but many teachers, especially those attempting to support families on small salaries, actually have to accept summer teaching jobs to make ends meet.

The problem is cyclical—because of low salaries teachers find it difficult to devote full time to continuing study, and then because of the necessity to take other jobs, cannot even devote summers to such course work. This is not even to take into consideration those uncoun- ted teachers who take additional jobs during the school year because of the inadequacy of their wages.

It is also well known in the education profession that many teachers simply have to abandon their careers and go into industry because of the more attractive salaries offered there. Hopefully, my bill would help to prevent this steady drain of trained and experienced people. Furthermore, many States have been forced to hire individuals who do not meet full certification requirements, and I anticipate that a Government-sponsored sabbatical leave program will enable these teachers to bring their qualifications up to desired standards. For those teachers already fully accredited, a sabbatical leave will enable them to qualify for promotion and for increased salaries, as explained above, and thereby hopefully keep more people in the profession with the brightened outlook for advancement.

No business or industry can afford to compete in the modern world without keeping abreast of the times, and thus we find industry-sponsored on-the-job training as well as subsidized retraining. Why should not the public business—that of educating our youth—receive the same treatment? The role of education as a matter of national concern is amply evidenced by the many bills passed in recent years to open up educational opportunity for all of our youth. I now propose this legislation to provide educational opportunity for our teachers.

Let me summarize the Teachers' Sabbatical Leave Act:

The bill would authorize yearly appropriations not in excess of \$50 million. The grant distributions are categorized as follows: first, 50 percent to teachers who have taught in elementary or secondary schools for a minimum of 3 academic years, who do not hold a baccalaureate degree, and who will pursue a course of study toward such degree; and, second, 50 percent to teachers (A) who have taught in elementary or secondary schools for a minimum of 7 academic years, who hold a baccalaureate degree, and who will pursue a course of study in a subject which they teach, or (B) who have taught in elementary or secondary schools for a minimum of 3 academic years, who hold a baccalaureate degree, and who will pursue a course of study in a subject matter area where a special need exists.

The grants will be allocated to the States on a pro rata basis. For the first category above, the grants will be allocated to the States considering the number of elementary and secondary school teachers in a State without baccalaureate degrees versus the number of elementary and secondary school teachers in the United States without such degrees. For the second category above, the grants will be allocated to the States considering the number of elementary and secondary school teachers in a State who have bac-

calaureate degrees and who have taught for a minimum of 7 academic years versus the number of elementary and secondary school teachers in the United States with such qualifications.

The bill contains a "Maintenance of effort" section which would prevent this program from replacing existing local and State sabbatical leave programs. It contains a limitation section which prevents the grants from being used for study at a school or department of divinity. It further prevents a department, agency, officer, or employer of the United States from exercising any direction, supervision or control over, or imposing any requirements or conditions with respect to the personnel, curriculum, methods of instruction, or administration of any educational institution.

The bill will enable the Commissioner of Education to award a grant to an eligible teacher at the rate of \$200 per month during periods such teacher is maintaining satisfactory proficiency in, and devoting essentially full time to, the pursuit of his course of study. The grants may not extend for a period beyond 12 months. They may, however, supplement grants awarded to teachers under existing local or State sabbatical leave programs; except that, in these instances, the Federal share shall be reduced so that the total stipend per month does not exceed \$400. The Commissioner shall also pay, on behalf of the teacher, the tuition and fees incurred by such teacher—not to exceed a total of \$1,000—to the institution of higher education at which the teacher is pursuing his course of study.

In addition to the aforementioned, the basic eligibility requirements for an elementary or secondary school teacher to receive a sabbatical leave grant are:

First, that the teacher has not received a grant under this act within the 7 preceding years;

Second, he has obtained a leave of absence from his employer to participate in the program provided for in this act, and has obtained from his employer assurances satisfactory to the Commissioner that his employment as a teacher may be resumed upon completion of his participation in the program;

Third, he has given assurances satisfactory to the Commissioner that he will resume teaching in elementary or secondary schools upon completion of his participation in the program; and

Fourth, he has been accepted for enrollment on a full-time basis by an institution of higher education.

The full text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 3372

A bill to establish a Federal sabbatical program to improve the quality of teaching in the Nation's elementary or secondary schools.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Teachers' Sabbatical Leave Act".*

#### SABBATICAL LEAVE PROGRAM

SEC. 2. The Commissioner of Education (hereinafter referred to as the "Commissioner") shall carry on a program for the award of sabbatical leave grants to experienced teachers in elementary and secondary



schools to enable them to improve their qualifications as teachers.

#### ELIGIBILITY

SEC. 3. A teacher in an elementary or secondary school shall be eligible for a sabbatical leave grant if such teacher—

(1) has not received such a grant under this Act within the seven preceding years;

(2) has obtained a leave of absence from his employer to enable him to participate in the program provided for in this Act, and has obtained from his employer assurances satisfactory to the Commissioner that his employment as a teacher may be resumed upon completion of his participation in such program;

(3) has given assurances satisfactory to the Commissioner that he will resume teaching in elementary or secondary schools upon completion of his participation in such program;

(4) has been accepted for enrollment on a full-time basis by an institution of higher education; and

(5) is a teacher described in clause (1) or (2) of section 6.

#### SABBATICAL LEAVE GRANTS

SEC. 4. The Commissioner shall award sabbatical leave grants, for not to exceed twelve months, to teachers eligible therefor under section 3, and shall make payments to each teacher awarded such a grant at the rate of \$200 per month during periods such teacher is maintaining satisfactory proficiency in, and devoting essentially full time, to the pursuit of his course of study. A sabbatical leave grant may be made to a teacher for a period during which he is receiving a grant under a State or local sabbatical leave program, but the grant provided under the preceding sentence shall be reduced to the extent it would, when added to the grant under the State or local program, exceed \$400 a month.

#### GRANTS TO INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

SEC. 5. In addition to amounts paid a teacher under section 4, the Commissioner shall pay, on behalf of such teacher, to the institution of higher education at which such teacher is pursuing his course of study, the tuition and fees incurred by such teacher, including course-required books, not to exceed a total of \$1,000.

#### CATEGORIES OF GRANTS

SEC. 6. Of the sabbatical leave grants awarded in any fiscal year (1) 50 per centum shall be awarded to teachers who have taught in elementary or secondary schools for three or more academic years who do not hold a baccalaureate degree and are candidates for such a degree, and (2) 50 per centum shall be awarded to teachers—

(A) who have taught in elementary or secondary schools for seven or more academic years, who hold a baccalaureate degree, and who need to maintain their proficiency in a subject which they teach, or

(B) who hold a baccalaureate degree, who have taught in elementary or secondary schools for three or more academic years, whose employer has certified them to be teaching or preparing to teach in a subject matter area where a special need exists, and who, if teaching in such an area, need to maintain their proficiency in such area, or, if preparing to teach in such area, need to obtain a basic proficiency in such area.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF GRANTS

SEC. 7. Sabbatical leave grants shall be distributed among the States so that—

(1) the number of such grants awarded to teachers described in clause (1) of section 6 in each State shall bear the same ratio to the number of grants awarded to such teachers in all the States as the number of elementary and secondary school teachers who are teaching in such State without a baccalaureate

degree bears to the number of such teachers who are teaching in all the States without such a degree; and

(2) the number of such grants awarded to teachers described in clause (2) of section 6 in each State shall bear the same ratio to the number of grants awarded to such teachers in all the States as the number of elementary and secondary school teachers teaching in the State who have a baccalaureate degree and who have taught for at least seven years bears to the number of elementary and secondary school teachers teaching in all the States who have a baccalaureate degree and who have taught for at least seven years.

For the purposes of this section, the overseas schools of the Armed Forces shall be treated as a State.

#### LIMITATIONS

SEC. 8. No sabbatical leave grant shall be awarded under this Act for study at a school or department of divinity. For the purposes of this section, the term "school or department of divinity" means an institution or department or branch of an institution, whose program is specifically for the education of students to prepare them to become ministers of religion or to enter upon some other religious vocation or to prepare them to teach theological subjects.

#### MAINTENANCE OF EFFORT

SEC. 9. Where an employer of elementary or secondary school teachers, or a State, carried on a sabbatical leave program prior to the enactment of this Act, teachers employed by such employer, or teaching in such State, shall be eligible for grants under this Act during a fiscal year only if such employer or such State, as the case may be, provides assurances satisfactory to the Commissioner that it will not reduce its expenditures for its sabbatical leave program below the amount expended for such purpose during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, by reason of the availability of grants under this Act.

#### APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 10. There is authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and each fiscal year thereafter, such amount, not in excess of \$50,000,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

#### FEDERAL CONTROL NOT AUTHORIZED

SEC. 11. No department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall, under authority of this Act, exercise any direction, supervision, or control over, or impose any requirements or conditions with respect to, the personnel, curriculum, methods of instruction, or administration of any educational institution.

#### DEFINITIONS

SEC. 12. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "State" means a State, Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, the Canal Zone, Guam, American Samoa, or the Virgin Islands.

(b) The term "institution of higher education" means an educational institution in any State which (1) admits as regular students only persons having a certificate of graduation from a school providing secondary education, or the recognized equivalent of such a certificate, (2) is legally authorized within such State to provide a program of education beyond secondary education, (3) provides an educational program for which it awards a bachelor's degree, (4) is a public or other nonprofit institution, and (5) is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association or, if not so accredited, is an institution whose credits are accepted, on transfer, by not less than three institutions which are so accredited, for credit on the same basis as if transferred from an institution so accredited.

(c) The term "teacher" includes persons performing services in elementary or second-

ary schools which are in fields ancillary to elementary or secondary education such as library science, school social work, guidance and counseling, educational media, and special education of handicapped children.

(d) The term "elementary or secondary school" means a school in a State or school overseas of the Armed Forces of the United States which provides elementary or secondary education, as determined under State law (or by the Commissioner in the case of a school overseas).

#### PERIL TO PANAMA CANAL

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, during the last few years, I have addressed this body on many occasions emphasizing the growing peril to the south of us in the Caribbean and offering programs of action to meet the dangers involved. For all seeking information on what was stated, attention is invited to the recently published volume of my principal addresses, 1958-66, on "Isthmian Canal Policy Questions," printed as House Document No. 474, 89th Congress, and distributed to all Members of the Congress.

Though the main news media of our country, with rare exceptions, have failed to measure up in reporting and evaluating what has taken place, and is still transpiring, in the region that has been described as our "fourth front," there has been an occasional publicist who has met the needs of the situation. One of these is Chesly Manly of the Chicago Tribune News Service, who has recently made an intensive study of the explosive situation in the Caribbean, including Panama.

A recent news story by Mr. Manly giving additional information on the extent of the dangers from Communist planning and penetration in the Caribbean domain follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Jan. 1, 1967]  
PERIL TO THE CANAL: COMMUNISTS CIRCLING THE CARIBBEAN

(By Chesly Manly)

PANAMA CITY.—In his classic geopolitical treatise on the influence of seapower upon history, published in 1890, Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan said the construction of a canal across the isthmus of Panama would make the Caribbean sea as important in the history of the world as the Mediterranean had been.

Evidently the Communists have the same understanding of geopolitics. From their Cuban base for revolution in the western hemisphere, on the northern rim of the Caribbean, they are striving incessantly to turn this fateful sea into a communist mare nostrum.

A 175-page report issued recently by the council of the organization of American States says the so-called Tri-Continental conference in Havana last January "marked a new phase in world communist strategy by creating permanent organizations to aid armed subversive movements aimed at overthrowing existing governments and establishing communist regimes." The OAS re-



port says the Havana conference was organized and directed by the Soviet Union, Red China, Cuba, and other communist countries and that it created a communist OAS—the Organization of American Solidarity, with headquarters in Havana—to support “liberation” forces throughout Latin America.

Communist guerrillas and subversive elements have been particularly active in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic, all on the perimeter of the Caribbean.

#### REDS DIFFER, BUT ALL WANT THE WORLD

Altho Moscow and Peking may differ on strategy and tactics, both are proponents of world conquest by revolutionary warfare. Lin Piao, Red China's defense minister and Mao Tse-tung's successor designate, has described North America and western Europe as the cities of the world and the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America as the rural areas. He says the Communists support so-called “people's wars” in the “rural areas” to encircle and conquer the “cities.” Nikita Khrushchev proclaimed the same strategy in January, 1961, when he said the Communists advocate “peaceful coexistence” between states but not between ideologies and pledged assistance to revolutionary “wars of national liberation” in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Those who contend that the Moscow variety of Communist is “mellowing” and is less a threat to world peace and United States security than Maoism or Piaoism seem to forget that it was Khrushchev who put ballistic missiles in Cuba in 1962. Moreover, the program of the Communist parties of the world, expounded by Khrushchev in January, 1961, was confirmed by his successors in the Kremlin.

Earl E. T. Smith, former ambassador to Cuba, blames communist sympathizers in the state department and the indifference of the Eisenhower administration for the triumph of Fidel Castro and his bearded guerrillas in Cuba. In his book, “The Fourth Floor,” Smith says Secretary of State John Foster Dulles refused even to talk to him about Cuba.

The Kennedy administration failed in two opportunities to overthrow Castro's regime. One was the Bay of Pigs fiasco of April, 1961, when air support promised to an invasion force of anti-communist Cubans was withheld by the President. The other was the missile crisis of October, 1962, when the President accepted Khrushchev's unverified word that his missiles had been returned to Russia. As interpreted by Khrushchev and not contradicted by President Kennedy, a pledge given by the President prohibits any invasion of Cuba by United States or other forces. It amounts to a guarantee for the protection of a Soviet satellite 90 miles from the Florida shores.

President Kennedy's defenders say he acted prudently because the world was on the brink of a nuclear holocaust. European Kremlinologists such as Prof. Boris Meissner of Cologne university ridicule the notion that Khrushchev would have risked a nuclear exchange with the United States and destruction of his own country over an island as far away as Cuba.

President Johnson's intervention with 20,000 American troops in the Dominican Republic revolution of April, 1965, prevented an immediate communist takeover of that Caribbean bulwark. But the deployment of American troops between rebel and loyalist Dominican forces in Santo Domingo also prevented ultimate defeat of the communist revolutionaries, and the final settlement in the Dominican Republic may give them another chance to take over the country.

The Communists, who were not even compelled to turn in their arms, dispersed throughout the country. About half of the 1,000 rebel Dominican army troops were dis-

charged and all but 93 of the others were re-integrated with loyal troops. The 93 others were brought to the United States for “rehabilitation training.” Whether they will be rehabilitated or returned as a well-trained fifth column remains to be seen.

J. I. Quello and N. Isa Cond, members of the Dominican Communist party's central committee, have acknowledged in two articles published in the World Marxist Review, of Moscow, that the Dominican revolution was “prepared by the June 14 movement,” an organization of Castro-supported Communists in the Dominican Republic. Former President Juan Bosch, a leftist in whose name the revolution was fought, was overwhelmingly defeated in a free election last June 1, but the new president, Joaquin Balaguer, still faces the threat of communist subversion.

#### GUEVARA POINTED WAY FOR GUERRILLAS

Maj. Che Guevara, one of Castro's chief lieutenants in the Cuban revolution, asserts in his book on guerrilla warfare that revolutions are won by the combined action of communist guerrilla fighters in rural areas, who win the sympathy and support of the peasants, and urban Communists who spread disorder, confusion, and fear in the cities by acts of terrorism and sabotage.

Thus far the Communists in the Dominican Republic have had no success with the conservative Dominican peasants and have depended upon underground movements, communist fronts, and dissident army officers in Santo Domingo for action against the government. In Guatemala, Colombia, and Venezuela, however, the Communists have combined guerrilla warfare in rural areas with campaigns of terrorism and sabotage in Guatemala City, Bogota, and Caracas, the respective capitals.

Guatemala, where the anti-communist Cubans were trained for their ill-fated Bay of Pigs adventure, is second only to oil-rich Venezuela on the communist “liberation” program and probably is in greater danger of a communist takeover than any other Latin American country. It was under communist control from 1950 to 1954 during the regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, who was overthrown in a revolution led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas and supported by the Eisenhower administration.

President Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro has accused both his communist and his right-wing enemies of terrorism and sabotage in Guatemala City and has imposed a “state of siege” to facilitate arrests. Two main guerrilla bands operate from eastern Guatemala. One is led by Marco Antonio Yon Sosa, who is called “El Chino” because his father is Chinese. He is pro-Peking. The other guerrilla leader, supported by Castro and the Russians, is Luis Turcios Lima. Both are former army officers.

Conservatives in Guatemala charge that Mendez is soft on communism and attack his land and tax reform programs as communist. His Revolutionary party is well to the left of center. He received 43 per cent of the vote in a three-man race for president last March. One of the defeated candidates was supported by Col. Enrique Peralta Azurdia, who had been president since the coup of March, 1963, against President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes.

#### BANDITS IN COLOMBIA

In February, 1964, *Diario las Americas*, an authoritative journal on Latin American affairs, published in Miami, reported after an extensive investigation that five so-called bandit zones in Colombia had been organized as “independent republics,” under communist administration, similar to the invisible Viet Cong governmental units in South Viet Nam.

In 1965, the Colombian army drove most of the Communists out of these zones, and since then it has kept them confined in re-

mote mountain hideouts. It is believed, however, that many of the guerrillas crossed over into Venezuela for operations there until there are more favorable opportunities in Colombia.

There have been sporadic bombings and other acts of terrorism in Bogota, but Colombia's new president, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, has acted energetically to crush the Communists. He is attempting to carry out an enlightened reform program, but he faces opposition from the same forces that paralyzed the government under his weak predecessor, Guillermo Leon Valencia.

#### SITUATION IN VENEZUELA

The Venezuelan army also has done a good job of containing guerrilla movements, but the Castro-supported FALN [armed forces of national liberation] recently resumed terrorist attacks on American-owned oil pipe lines, supermarkets, department stores, and even a United States department of commerce trade fair in Caracas. The resurgence of terrorism disproved claims by President Raul Leoni that the communist movement was as good as dead.

Gen. Ramon Florencio Gomez, defense minister, blamed the resumption of violence on the government's release of 31 political prisoners, most of whom had been leaders of guerrilla operations in the early 1960s. Former Interior Minister Gonzalo Barrios released the prisoners on Nov. 16, the day before he became secretary general of the ruling Democratic Action party.

Although the FALN gets arms and money from Castro, it manufactures some of its own weapons. In October, 1965, the national police found a modern and efficient underground arms factory and a formidable arsenal of machine guns, mortars, and other finished products.

#### EXORBITANT DEMANDS BY PANAMA—REPORT

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in the November 19, 1966, issue of the *Star & Herald*, Panama, R.P., there appeared a news story about the current diplomatic negotiations with the Panamanian Government regarding the Panama Canal that Panama has now demanded the payment of an \$80 million annuity by the United States. At the present time, the annual net profits of the canal enterprise amount to about \$3 million of which \$1,930,000 go to Panama. Any annuity in excess of the net profits must be paid by the American taxpayers and is in complete defiance of what realistic considerations may permit.

Such demand, if the report is correct, is not only one of the most outrageous character but also evidence of the ever-increasing assurance of Panamanian negotiators who have been, and are, taking advantage of the weakness and impotence of the negotiators acting for the United States.

One after another excessive demand by Panama has been conceded by our Government and has brought about a condition of chaos in the Canal Zone. All of this, as I have so frequently pointed out,



plays squarely into the hands of audacious Communist strategists who for years have sought to divest the United States of all influence and authority over the canal that would be undoubtedly followed with ultimate communistic control of Panama and the great isthmian waterway. Cuba was such a simple takeover by communism that Panama has seemed to be an easier prize for communistic conquest.

The indicated news story follows:

**REPORT \$80 MILLION CANAL CLAIM BY REPUBLIC OF PANAMA—NO COMMENT IN PANAMA OR IN WASHINGTON—LOS ANGELES TIMES-NEWS SERVICE SAYS "WHOPPING" CLAIM MAY CAUSE DIFFICULTIES**

A demand by Panama for a compensation of \$80,000,000 a year from the United States in current negotiations for a new Panama Canal treaty was reported yesterday in Washington by the Los Angeles Times-News Service.

Both the Panama Foreign Ministry and the U.S. State Department declined comment on the report.

A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, saying that newsmen both in the United States and in Panama are entitled to speculate on the treaty negotiations, pointed out the secret nature of the negotiations precludes any comment on newspaper reports.

In Washington, State Department officials indicated they had not heard of such a proposal, but declined to say whether the report is correct or incorrect.

U.S. officials said the negotiations "for obvious reasons" have been secret and they intend to keep them that way until they are completed. Ambassador Ricardo M. Arias, a member of the Panama negotiating team, was not available for comment, the Panama Embassy in Washington said.

Panama and U.S. officials have said from the start of the talks in 1964 that there would be no discussion of details of the negotiations.

The report published by the Los Angeles Times News Service said that Panama has asked "a whopping \$80 million annual compensation payment from the United States" and said the amount "shook some officials here (in Washington), and may cause difficulties" in the negotiations. The present Canal annuity amounts to \$1,830,000.

Panama and the United States have been negotiating a revision of the 1903 treaty on the Panama Canal, an agreement for building of a sea-level waterway to replace the present lock-operated canal should Panama be chosen as the site for such an inter-oceanic link, and a bases agreement.

Officials in Washington said the negotiations are progressing but gave no details.

The Los Angeles Times-News Service report coincided with an announcement Thursday in Panama by Foreign Minister Fernando Elesta that he will request a special session of the National Assembly prior to December 20 to report on the status of the treaty negotiations. He did not indicate if there is a particular reason requiring a special report to the Assembly at this time on the treaty negotiations. The last special session called to hear a treaty negotiations report was held a year ago.

Elesta said Panama's three negotiators will attend the special Assembly session next month.

#### GENERALISSIMO FRANCO DECLARES SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES IN VIETNAM

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] may extend

his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, as Members of this House are well aware, the Government of Spain has a firm and consistent record of opposition to communism. As such, the Government of Spain under Generalissimo Francisco Franco, the Chief of State, is recognized for its anti-Communist leadership by many people outside of Spain.

Therefore, I am confident that Members of this House will be particularly interested in the recent declaration by Generalissimo Francisco Franco in support of the U.S. war effort in Vietnam.

Generalissimo Franco's statement of support of the United States in Vietnam was made on the occasion of his recent meeting, in Madrid, with the commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Mr. Leslie M. Fry, from Reno, Nev., and Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, VFW director of national security and foreign affairs.

Also accompanying Commander Fry was Col. Leon G. Turrou, commander of the VFW post in Paris, formerly a prominent FBI agent, author, and recently president of the NATO Reserve Officers Association.

At a time when clearcut support by other countries for our battle in Vietnam is all too rare, Generalissimo Franco's words of support and understanding are all the more important. Parenthetically, it should be recognized that the strategic importance of Spain in the defense of Western Europe and the Mediterranean is all the more important today because of the military withdrawal of France from NATO. This makes Generalissimo Franco's comments pertaining to the need for strong links between the United States and Spain in the defense of the West all the more significant.

Again, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States has made another contribution to the cause of freedom in the defense against Communist aggression.

Because of the importance of VFW Commander in Chief Fry's meeting with Generalissimo Franco, I include at this time an article from the San Diego Union of November 3, 1966, by Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, VFW director of national security and foreign affairs and, also, an editorial from the San Diego Union of November 12, concerning the importance of Generalissimo Franco's statements in support of U.S. policy in Vietnam as expressed in his meeting with VFW Commander in Chief Fry.

The articles follow:

[From the San Diego Union, Nov. 3, 1966]  
FRANCO BACKS UNITED STATES ON VIET NAM  
(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, USMC (Ret.))

MADRID—Gen. Francisco Franco, enigmatic chief of state of Spain, yesterday declared full support for U.S. goals in South Viet Nam.

"It is an ungrateful task that the United States is performing," Franco said, "but we Spaniards know that except for this American stand, all of Asia might go Communist."

The 74-year-old general met for 30 min-

utes in a private audience with Leslie M. Fry of Reno, Nev., national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; Leon Torrou, commander of the VFW post in Paris and president of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Reserve Officers Association, and the writer.

"Someday," Franco said, "the free world will appreciate the task that the United States is performing in South Viet Nam."

The Spanish chief of state asked Fry to convey a special message to the people of America and particularly to the men in Viet Nam.

"I want to express our friendship, understanding and our best wishes for success," Franco said.

Franco's government has sent a military medical mission to South Viet Nam.

When Fry mentioned protests in the United States and Western Europe against U.S. policy, Franco said:

"There is no freedom without sacrifice."

In a tribute to Fry's organization, Franco said:

"We are well aware of the strength of the Veterans of Foreign Wars as a repository for American ideals."

The Organization of overseas veterans has a membership of 1.5 million. Fry is on a factfinding trip through Western Europe.

Official observers in Madrid said Franco's statements on the Viet Nam war were the clearest, most concise yet heard in the Spanish capital.

"He certainly dispelled any doubts about Spain's policy," said one American official.

The position of the Spanish chief of state has been the topic of speculation here since Franco's withdrawal from NATO's military structure, since anti-American propaganda has gained in Europe and since Spanish newspapers gave great prominence to French President Charles de Gaulle's most recent criticism of President Johnson.

France's withdrawal from NATO commands also has heightened the strategic importance of Spain in the defense of Western Europe and the Mediterranean.

Pressed for a statement on Spain's position, Franco said:

"I hope the links between the United States and Spain will be strong in defense of the West."

"Tell your people back home that Spain is a firm friend of the United States."

The audience was held in Franco's office in the El Prado Palace on the outskirts of Madrid. The generalissimo, clad in uniform, appeared in excellent health. He is not a large man, but his handshake is firm, his bearing is military. His speech is clear. He had just returned to the palace after a day of hunting near Toledo.

Spain is not a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization but is tied to the United States through bilateral military agreements that provide for American bomber bases and a Polaris submarine base on Spanish territory.

[From the San Diego Union, Nov. 12, 1966]  
FRANCO SPEAKS WITH AUTHORITY—SPAIN SUPPORTS U.S. STAND

Few can doubt the authority of Gen. Francisco Hermangildo Teodoro Franco y Bahamonde when he speaks of the nature and techniques of the Communists, whatever their nationality.

Fighting Communists has been second nature to Gen. Franco, the chief of the state of Spain.

He was a brilliant young officer during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 in which the Russian-supported Communists were pushed from power in Spain.

After World War II when he was chief of state, Gen. Franco survived an economic blockade of his nation by the international Communist movement. When Russia obtained all of Spain's gold reserves after the



war, Franco also was able to reconstruct his nation on its painful way toward economic gain and security.

It was a slow road which led to membership in the United Nations in 1955 and diplomatic relations with Western nations.

His knowledge of the Communists gives Gen. Franco's words special weight as he speaks of Viet Nam:

"It is an ungrateful task the United States is performing, but we Spaniards know that except for the American stand all of Asia might go Communist," Gen. Franco told Leslie M. Fry, U.S. Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

"Some day," Gen. Franco added, "the free world will appreciate the task that the United States is performing in Viet Nam. . . . There is no freedom without sacrifice."

The words are spoken with the conviction of one who has learned about the gamut of the enemy's tactics, from outright war to devious diplomacy.

Gen. Franco, even today, shows his enmity to Communist aggression by keeping a medical contingent in South Viet Nam and offering the United States use of an airfield and a submarine base on Spanish soil.

The Spanish bases assume a new strategic importance with the withdrawal of France from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The bases and Franco's realistic appraisal of the Communist enemy would make him a valuable partner in NATO—something that should engage thoughts of the alliance.

#### FURTHER CHAOS IN CANAL ZONE

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on repeated occasions, I have emphasized in addresses to this House of the Congress the confusion and chaos that would inevitably follow in the Canal Zone as the result of weak policies by our Government in dealing with the mob-controlled government of Panama. My views were clearly and positively set forth in my address on May 5, 1964, entitled "Under Two Flags: Blunders, Confusion, and Chaos at Panama." This is one of the statements to be found on pages 76 to 98 in the volume of my addresses, "Isthmian Canal Policy Questions"—House Document No. 474, 89th Congress—which has been distributed to all Members of the Congress, principal libraries of the Nation, selected educational institutions, and other repositories.

What are the latest reports from the Isthmus? Panamanian students have again been demonstrating in the Canal Zone, singing the Panamanian national anthem and flaunting Panamanian flags. Not only that, the National Guard of Panama has been stationed in the Canal Zone ready to meet threats of disorder, thus taking over the duties of the Canal Zone police. From this it is clear that radical elements in Panama are attempting to assert in advance the extinction of U.S. sovereignty over the Zone.

Under our Government's currently weak policy with respect to the Canal

Zone, Mr. Speaker, it was but natural for radical students in Panama to organize for another "sovereignty march" into the Canal Zone that was scheduled for January 9, 1967, the third anniversary of the 1964 bloody Panamanian mob assault on the zone territory. When these revolutionaries approached the zone, the National Guard of Panama was on the alert, swung into action, and dispersed the would-be invaders while the mob was still small. Had this action not been taken it is possible that the demonstration would have become large, with a repetition of the bloody 1964 assault.

Why, Mr. Speaker, should citizens of a foreign country be encouraged in making organized forays into the Canal Zone by being allowed to romp at will over our territorial possession? Why are our officials too timid to prevent such disturbances on soil under the control and authority of the United States? Certainly, such weakness do not characterize the Armed Forces of our country. They can only come from certain elements in our Department of State, which, since 1936, have messed up the situation at Panama until our position there has been placed in the gravest peril.

The President, instead of relying on such advisers, would do far better if he sought the guidance of our experienced military and naval commanders, including members of the Armed Forces in the Canal Zone.

The chaos that has been repeatedly predicted by myself and other objective students of the Canal situation has come to pass and will certainly grow worse if the Canal Zone is to be made into a happy hunting ground for communistically inspired demonstrators from Panama and Cuba. The 1903 treaty has not been abrogated and until it is—God forbid—it is the sworn duty of our Government to exercise its full and indispensable rights, power, and authority under the treaty to assure the efficient management of the Canal and protection of the Canal Zone and all who live or work within its limits.

Certainly, Mr. Speaker, if we do not respect our own authority and insist on a policy of vacillation and surrender, it certainly follows that communistic and other subversive elements will respect neither our authority at Panama nor our National Government. Moreover, the nations of the world will hold us in contempt and derision. The time is over-ripe for a full and complete investigation by the Congress of the entire situation at Panama. National security demands it.

Excerpts from the Spanish-language press of Panama follow:

[From the Panama Canal Information Office, daily digest of news and editorial opinion of Panama news media]

DECEMBER 14, 1966

La Prensa, December 13, in the news columns:

A picture on the back page shows Panama National Guardsmen stationed in the Canal Zone. Cutlines below the pictures say the Guardsmen were ready to meet any threat of disturbance which the National Institute students may cause during their sovereignty march into the Canal Zone. Several other

papers also carried stories and pictures on the march and demonstration.

Page 2 is devoted to two pictures of student demonstrations in the Canal Zone. One shows students singing the Panama National Anthem, and the other a Canal Zone water turret nozzle truck used in riot control. The cutlines say this is the first time this truck has appeared.

El Panama America, December 13, in the news columns:

The Isthmian Federation of Christian workers has organized a "Sovereignty March" for January 9, 1967, to commemorate the third anniversary of the 1964 incidents in Panama, says a story in the center of the front page.

DECEMBER 28, 1966

La Hora, December 27, in the news columns:

"A sovereignty caravan will demand abrogation of the 1903 treaty" says a 4-column headline at the bottom of the front page. The report says members of this caravan will meet at Panama University with members from every corner of the interior to march in commemoration of the events of January 1964.

JANUARY 11, 1967

La Hora, January 10, in the news columns:

The Panama National Guard threw tear gas at a group of boys who, after the meeting in commemoration of the January 9, 1964, riots had headed for the Canal Zone, according to story and pictures in the middle of the back page.

El Panama America, January 10, in the news columns:

A boy who threw a smoke bomb at the close of the meeting at the Plaza Cinco de Mayo Tuesday night to commemorate the January 9, 1964 riots, is being detained in the jail of Panama's National Department of Investigations, says a front page report. It is believed the incident was caused by leftists who wanted to start chaos, says the report. Pictures of the meeting are at the bottom of the front page.

La Prensa, January 10, in the news columns:

Two pictures on the front page are of incidents that occurred after the meeting commemorating January 9, 1964, in Plaza 5 de Mayo. One picture shows Panama National Guardsmen using tear gas to disperse students who tried to dash into the Canal Zone. Cutlines say the youths broke store windows and overturned garbage cans on Central Avenue.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. ALBERT, for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. PERKINS (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for 20 minutes, on January 24, 1967; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. RESNICK, for 60 minutes, today.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. ERLBORN), for 15 minutes, January 24, 1967.

Mr. GILBERT (at the request of Mr. KAZEN), for 1 hour, on January 24, for the purpose of eulogizing the Honorable Charles A. Buckley, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. TUNNEY (at the request of Mr. KAZEN), for 1 hour, on January 25, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.



## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. REUSS.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ERLBORN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. FINO.

Mr. WIDNALL.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. KAZEN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD.

Mr. HOWARD.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 24, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

234. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a recommendation that the Congress extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, (H. Doc. No. 41); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed.

235. A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting a report setting forth the financial condition of working capital funds as of June 30, 1966, pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2208; to the Committee on Armed Services.

236. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a report of the number of cases that have been reviewed, and the number of certificates issued to ex-service men and women, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 89-690; to the Committee on Armed Services.

237. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of need for improving administration of the cost of pricing data requirements of Public Law 87-653 in the award of prime contracts and subcontracts, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

238. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of need for more effective action to correct conditions disclosed by internal audits, Bureau of Employment Security, Department of Labor; to the Committee on Government Operations.

239. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of examination of financial statements, fiscal year 1966, Veterans' Canteen Service, Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

240. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of procurement of foreign produced aircraft ejection-seat system, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

241. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting copies of all laws enacted by the Legislature of the Virgin Islands in its 1966 regular and special sessions, pursuant to the provisions of section 9(g) of the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands of the United States; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

242. A letter from the Deputy Assistant

Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a proposed concession contract providing continuance of accommodations, facilities, and services for the public at the Searchlight Ferry Site in Lake Mead National Recreation Area, Nev., pursuant to the provisions of 70 Stat. 543; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

243. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Trade Commission, transmitting an economic report entitled "Manufacture and Distribution of Automotive Tires"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

244. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Power Commission, transmitting copies of the following publications: Statistics for Interstate Natural Gas Pipeline Companies, 1965, and Typical Electric Bills, 1966; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOGGS:

H.R. 3240. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 3241. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BOLAND:

H.R. 3242. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. CULVER:

H.R. 3243. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DE LA GARZA:

H.R. 3244. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DOLE:

H.R. 3245. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FALLON:

H.R. 3246. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.R. 3247. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. GOODLING:

H.R. 3248. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mrs. HANSEN of Washington:

H.R. 3249. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 3250. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HENDERSON:

H.R. 3251. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

H.R. 3252. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national

program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. KEE:

H.R. 3253. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. LENNON:

H.R. 3254. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 3255. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.R. 3256. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MULTER:

H.R. 3257. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. POLANCO-ABREU:

H.R. 3258. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROGERS of Colorado:

H.R. 3259. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 3240. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 3260. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 3261. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 3262. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. SANDMAN:

H.R. 3263. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ULLMAN:

H.R. 3264. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WHITE:

H.R. 3265. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H.R. 3266. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.R. 3267. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 3268. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ABERNETHY:

H.R. 3269. A bill to amend the Appalachian Act of 1965; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WHITTEN:

H.R. 3270. A bill to amend the Appalachian



Act of 1965; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MONTGOMERY:

H.R. 3271. A bill to amend the Appalachian Act of 1965; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 3272. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to revise the rates of postage on third-class mail; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. ASPINALL:

H.R. 3273. A bill to determine the rights and interests of the Navajo Tribe and the Ute Mountain Tribe of the Ute Mountain Reservation in and to certain lands in the State of New Mexico, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3274. A bill to preserve the domestic gold mining industry and to increase the domestic production of gold; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BARING:

H.R. 3275. A bill to preserve the domestic gold mining industry and to increase the domestic production of gold; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3276. A bill to permit the free marketing of gold, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 3277. A bill to prohibit desecration of the flag; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3278. A bill to amend the veterans' educational assistance program of title 38 of the United States Code so as to increase the amount of educational assistance allowances payable to veterans to include flight training in such program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3279. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to make widows of veterans of World War II, the Korean conflict, or the Vietnam era eligible for education assistance; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3280. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to increase the rates of pension payable to certain veterans and their widows, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3281. A bill to increase from \$600 to \$1,000 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a spouse, the exemption for a dependent, and the additional exemption for old age or blindness); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BATTIN:

H.R. 3282. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, so as to require the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to give 6 months' advance public notice of the planned closing or relocation of any veterans' facility, and to provide for at least one veterans' service center in each State, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 3283. A bill to amend section 212(e) of the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide additional grounds for waiver of the 2-year foreign residence requirement applicable to certain exchange aliens, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina:

H.R. 3284. A bill to amend title 32 of the United States Code in order to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. CAHILL:

H.R. 3285. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide an 8-percent across-the-board increase in benefits, and to raise the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without loss of benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 3286. A bill to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 3287. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DOLE:

H.R. 3288. A bill to repeal the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act of 1966; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DOWDY:

H.R. 3289. A bill to amend the Career Compensation Act of 1949 to provide the maximum retired pay for certain retired enlisted men for the period from June 1, 1942, through June 30, 1946; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 3290. A bill to provide that disabled individuals entitled to monthly cash benefits under section 223 of the Social Security Act (and individuals retired for disability under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937) shall be eligible for health insurance benefits under title XVIII of the Social Security Act without regard to their age; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama:

H.R. 3291. A bill to amend the St. Lawrence Seaway Act to provide that the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation shall not engage in publicity or promotional activities such as free or paid advertising; solicitation of cargoes; publication of ocean, rail, port, or motor carrier rate or service comparisons; or other activities that are actually or potentially disruptive to the flow of waterborne trade among ports in the United States; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 3292. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for optometrists' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FARBERSTEIN:

H.R. 3293. A bill to amend the Clean Air Act to provide for more effective prevention, control, and abatement of air pollution through the establishment of air regions and standards applicable thereto; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FEIGHAN:

H.R. 3294. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Army to establish a national cemetery in Ohio; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 3295. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that full benefits thereunder, when based upon the attainment of retirement age, will be payable to men at age 60 and to women at age 55; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FISHER:

H.R. 3296. A bill to establish the Amistad National Recreation Area in the State of Texas; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FLOOD:

H.R. 3297. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, with respect to survivor annuities; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 3298. A bill to provide for a comprehensive review of national water resource problems and programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FOLEY (by request):

H.R. 3299. A bill to authorize the purchase, sale, and exchange of certain lands on the Spokane Indian Reservation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ASPINALL:

H.R. 3300. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. GUBSER:

H.R. 3301. A bill to amend section 5042 of

the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an exemption from tax for certain wine produced for personal use; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.R. 3302. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. HALEY:

H.R. 3303. A bill to amend the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921, to provide for the retirement of the public debt by setting aside the first 5 percent of the budget receipts of the United States for each fiscal year for the sole purpose of retirement of obligations counted as part of the public debt; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 3304. A bill to provide for national cemeteries in the county of De Soto, State of Florida; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3305. A bill to provide for the designation of a highway from Tampa, Fla., to Miami, Fla., as a part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HALEY (by request):

H.R. 3306. A bill to amend section 4 of the act of May 31, 1933 (48 Stat. 108); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3307. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide that amyotrophic lateral sclerosis developing a 10 percent or more degree of disability within 7 years after separation from active service during a period of war shall be presumed to be service connected; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3308. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase the per diem rate payable to State homes providing hospital care of veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3309. A bill to amend section 521 of title 38, United States Code, to exclude from consideration as income, for the purpose of determining eligibility for pension, all payments of any kind or from any source, including salary, retirement or annuity payments, endowments or similar income, which a veteran receives or is entitled to receive after attaining age 72; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3310. A bill to amend section 1901(a) of title 38, United States Code, to make certain veterans of World War I eligible for the automobile assistance allowance provided for certain veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HARVEY:

H.R. 3311. A bill to provide for the issuance of a volunteer's medal to each individual who enlists in the Armed Forces of the United States during a period of war or armed conflict involving the United States; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 3312. A bill to provide for the appointment of postmasters by the Postmaster General, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3313. A bill to amend section 4481 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against the truck use tax where the taxpayer, during the taxable period, disposes of a truck and acquires another truck; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HATHAWAY:

H.R. 3314. A bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to provide additional sources of financing for the rural electrification and rural telephone programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 3315. A bill to provide that the Secretary of the Army shall acquire additional land for the Beverly National Cemetery, N.J.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.



H.R. 3316. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3317. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and the Social Security Act to assist in providing means for portability of credits under certain private pension plans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H.R. 3318. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a taxpayer a deduction from gross income for tuition and certain transportation expenses paid by him in connection with the education of himself, his spouse, or any of his dependents at an institution of higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3319. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage the abatement of water and air pollution by permitting the amortization for income tax purposes of the cost of abatement works over a period of 36 months; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3320. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide increased tax incentive for individuals and corporations that manufacture or produce goods for exports; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCLORY:

H.R. 3321. A bill to amend the definition of period of war for purposes of chapter II of title 38 of the United States Code; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. McMILLAN:

H.R. 3322. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to acquire, transfer, convey, and lease certain property in the District of Columbia for use as sites for offices for governments of foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts:

H.R. 3323. A bill to establish the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site in the State of Massachusetts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3324. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the determination of American selling price in the case of certain footwear of rubber or plastics; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MACHEN:

H.R. 3325. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a deduction from gross income for certain nonreimbursable expenses incurred by volunteer firemen; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts:

H.R. 3326. A bill to authorize the Legislative Reference Service to make use of automatic data processing techniques and equipment in the performance of its functions; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.R. 3327. A bill to amend the act of March 16, 1934, relating to migratory bird hunting stamps to prohibit retail dealers from placing certain conditions upon the sale of such stamps; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RANDALL:

H.R. 3328. A bill to amend the Migratory Bird Treaty Act with respect to mallards three or more generations removed from the wild; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mrs. REID of Illinois:

H.R. 3329. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 3330. A bill to amend section 4554(a) of title 39, United States Code, to extend the fourth-class educational and library materials rate to playscripts; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 3331. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rates of duty on certain densified wood; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 3332. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide that any 5-year level premium term plan policy of national service life insurance shall be deemed paid when premiums paid in, less dividends, equal the amount of the policy; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3333. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to make the educational assistance program under that title as broad as the program provided for Korean conflict veterans; to increase the allowances payable to veterans participating in such program; to make educational assistance available to the children of veterans having service-connected disabilities rated at 50 percent or more; and to provide for compensatory payments to certain veterans who obtained their education before the educational assistance program of title 38 became effective; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3334. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to establish a Court of Veterans' Appeals and to prescribe its jurisdiction and functions; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. SCHNEEBEL:

H.R. 3335. A bill for the establishment of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 3336. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3337. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SIKES:

H.R. 3338. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. STAFFORD:

H.R. 3339. A bill to amend title 32 of the United States Code in order to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 3340. A bill to increase the membership of the Board of Visitors to the Naval Academy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. STUBBLEFIELD:

H.R. 3341. A bill to postpone the application of daylight saving provisions of the Uniform Time Act of 1966 in certain States; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TALCOTT:

H.R. 3342. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to require certain studies of the pollution of the Monterey Bay and the San Francisco Bay and adjacent waters, and to prohibit the operation of any interceptor drain so as to pollute such waters; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 3343. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for deduction of certain education expenses of teachers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ZABLOCKI:

H.R. 3344. A bill to amend the Federal

Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize aircraft noise abatement research and regulation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BARING:

H.R. 3345. A bill authorizing a survey of streams at and in the vicinity of the Spring Mountain Youth Camp, Spring Mountain Range, Nev., in the interest of flood control, bank erosion control, and allied purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 3346. A bill authorizing a survey of the Virgin River at and in the vicinity of Bunkerville, Mesquite, and Riverside, Nev., in the interest of flood control, bank erosion control, and allied purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BATTIN:

H.R. 3347. A bill to exempt from tax any gasoline or diesel fuel used in logging trucks operating over private roads; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H.R. 3348. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to raise the income limitation with respect to a dependent from \$600 to \$1,000; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3349. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that certain forms of nickel be admitted free of duty; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 3350. A bill to provide penalties for dealing with lottery tickets; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin:

H.R. 3351. A bill to amend the act of August 19, 1950, to provide annuity benefits for an additional number of widows of employees of the Lighthouse Service; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 3352. A bill to amend the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, to provide compensation for certain additional losses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 3353. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction from gross income for social agency, legal, and related expenses incurred in connection with the adoption of a child by the taxpayer; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3354. A bill to establish a Small Tax Division within the Tax Court of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD:

H.R. 3355. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that full benefits (when based upon the attainment of retirement age) will be payable to men at age 60 and to women at age 55; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRIEDEL:

H.R. 3356. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to increase the amount of outside income which a survivor annuitant may earn without deduction from his or her annuity thereunder; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 3357. A bill to authorize the Federal Aviation Administrator to regulate, in the interest of safety, parachute jumps made from aircraft for sport or for monetary consideration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 3358. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without any deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 3359. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage the construction and installation of facilities to abate water and air pollution by allowing



a tax credit for certain expenditures incurred in constructing and installing such facilities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HALEY:

H.R. 3360. A bill authorizing the conveyance of certain surplus property of the United States to the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions of the State of Florida; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. HANNA:

H.R. 3361. A bill to authorize a program of research, development, and demonstration of electrically powered vehicles, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HARRISON:

H.R. 3362. A bill to clarify the tax status of American Indians; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HATHAWAY:

H.R. 3363. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide that an individual's entitlement to retirement benefits under that act or the Social Security Act while he or she is entitled to dependent's or survivor's benefits under the other such act shall not operate to prevent any increases in his or her benefits under the 1937 act which would otherwise result under the so-called social security minimum guarantee provision; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 3364. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 3365. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow teachers to deduct from gross income the expenses incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher education and including certain travel; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 3366. A bill to name the Veterans' Administration hospital located in Clarksburg, W. Va., the Louis A. Johnson Memorial Veterans' Hospital; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 3367. A bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide for a National Community Senior Service Corps; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 3368. A bill to authorize the preparation of plans for a memorial to Woodrow Wilson; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LLOYD:

H.R. 3369. A bill to protect the domestic economy, to promote the general welfare, and to assist in the national defense by providing for an adequate supply of lead and zinc for consumption in the United States from domestic and foreign sources, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McMILLAN:

H.R. 3370. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to regulate the practice of podiatry in the District of Columbia," approved May 23, 1918, as amended; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 3371. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for commitments to, maintenance in, and discharge from, the District Training School, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1925, as amended; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mrs. MINK:

H.R. 3372. A bill to establish a Federal sabbatical program to improve the quality of teaching in the Nation's elementary or secondary schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. MULTER:

H.R. 3373. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NEDZI:

H.R. 3374. A bill to amend the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, to provide compensation for certain additional losses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. OLSEN:

H.R. 3375. A bill relating to rates of postage on third-class matter mailed by certain nonprofit organizations; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3376. A bill to amend chapter 83, title 5, United States Code, to eliminate the reduction in the annuities of employees or Members who elected reduced annuities in order to provide a survivor annuity if predeceased by the person named as survivor and permit a retired employee or Member to designate a new spouse as survivor if predeceased by the person named as survivor at the time of retirement; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3377. A bill to amend section 8341 of title 5, United States Code, to provide annuities for surviving spouses without deduction from a retired employee or Member's annuity, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3378. A bill to equalize civil service retirement annuities and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3379. A bill to amend section 8332, title 5, United States Code, to provide for the inclusion in the computation of accredited services of certain periods of service rendered States or instrumentalities of States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3380. A bill to modify the decrease in Federal group life insurance at age 65 or after retirement; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3381. A bill to amend section 8338, title 5, United States Code, to correct inequities applicable to those employees or Members separated from service with title to deferred annuities and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3382. A bill to permit a retired employee or Member receiving health benefits pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Employees Health Benefit Act of 1959 (ch. 89, title 5, U.S.C.) to elect coverage under the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1960 (Public Law 86-724); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3383. A bill to reclassify certain key positions and increase salaries in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3384. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for a special canceling stamp or postmarking die bearing the words "For God and Country"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3385. A bill to provide that the value of survivor annuities payable under chapter 83, title 5, United States Code, shall not be taken into account for State inheritance tax or Federal estate tax purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3386. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the first \$5,000 received as civil service retirement annuity from the United States or any agency thereof shall be excluded from gross income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 3387. A bill to provide for the issuance of nonnegotiable U.S. bonds to finance certain defense expenditures, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. REUSS:

H.R. 3388. A bill to provide for a congressional ombudsman; to the Committee on House Administration.

H.R. 3389. A bill to provide for the establishment of the St. Croix National Scenic

Riverway in the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3390. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide a 20-percent across-the-board benefit increase (with a minimum retirement annuity of \$70 a month) and subsequent increases based on rises in the cost of living, and to finance the cost of these changes out of the general revenues; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 3391. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to increase by 20 percent the amount of retirement, annuity, and endowment payments excluded from income for the purpose of determining the eligibility of an individual for pension under that title, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3392. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide a 20-percent across-the-board benefit increase (with a minimum primary benefit of \$70 a month) and subsequent increases based on rises in the cost of living, to liberalize the retirement test, and to finance the cost of these changes out of the general revenues; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 3393. A bill to provide for recognition of Federal employee unions and to provide procedures for the adjustment of grievances; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 3394. A bill creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 3395. A bill to amend the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3396. A bill for the relief of the Borough of Ford City, Armstrong County, Pa.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3397. A bill to impose quota limitations on imports of foreign residual fuel oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3398. A bill to prevent the importation of flat glass which is the product of any country or area dominated or controlled by communism; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SELDEN:

H.R. 3399. A bill to amend section 2 of Public Law 88-240 to extend the termination date for the Corregidor-Bataan Memorial Commission; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. STAGGERS:

H.R. 3400. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize aircraft noise abatement regulation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 3401. A bill to provide for the designation of that portion of U.S. Highway No. 30 between Portland and Astoria, Oreg., as part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. KLEPPE:

H.R. 3402. A bill to modify the comprehensive plan for the Missouri River Basin with respect to certain bank protection and rectification works; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BARING:

H.J. Res. 190. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALEY:

H.J. Res. 191. Joint resolution expressing a declaration of war against the 98 Communist Parties constituting the international Communist conspiracy; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.J. Res. 192. Joint resolution to amend



the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARVEY:

H.J. Res. 193. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.J. Res. 194. Joint resolution designating February as American History Month; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HERLONG:

H.J. Res. 195. Joint resolution to provide for the resumption of trade with Rhodesia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H.J. Res. 196. Joint resolution to provide for the resumption of trade with Rhodesia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.J. Res. 197. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the term of office of Members of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.J. Res. 198. Joint resolution to provide for the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp in honor of Amerigo Vespucci; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PASSMAN:

H.J. Res. 199. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.J. Res. 200. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim October 15 of each year as National Poetry Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DERWINSKI:

H. Con. Res. 82. Concurrent resolution relating to U.S. military personnel held captive in Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H. Con. Res. 83. Concurrent resolution to express the sense of Congress against the persecution of persons by Soviet Russia because of their religion; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HARVEY:

H. Con. Res. 84. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the recognition of certain civilians who serve in Vietnam and other combat areas; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MESKILL:

H. Res. 166. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H. Res. 167. Resolution creating a select committee to conduct an investigation and study of the system of staffing of standing committees of the House, in order to improve such system; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. STAGGERS:

H. Res. 168. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to make studies and investigations within its jurisdiction; to the Committee on Rules.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHMORE:

H.R. 3403. A bill for the relief of Harry LeRoy Jones; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BATES:

H.R. 3404. A bill for the relief of Elias J. Sgouritsas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 3405. A bill for the relief of Leung Wing Cheung; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3406. A bill for the relief of Castrense Valencia Matlong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 3407. A bill for the relief of Abraham P. Razon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3408. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Goli Klari (also known as Helen Chiari); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3409. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Tam Sul Lan and her two children, Wong Bo Yee and Wong Bo Kee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3410. A bill for the relief of Lee Bon Sheung; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3411. A bill for the relief of Fong Hong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3412. A bill for the relief of Sophia Lenetaki; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3413. A bill for the relief of Sau Lin Chu (also known as Sow Sam Chu); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3414. A bill for the relief of Hector Guerrero Garcia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3415. A bill for the relief of Moon Yam Jew (also known as Kee Won Jang and Kee W. Jang); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3416. A bill for the relief of Grace M. Reyes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3417. A bill for the relief of Eduardo Yerro Cabindol and his wife, Edith Legaspi Cabindol; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3418. A bill for the relief of Francisco Rados, his wife, Dragica Krog Rados, and their son, Damir Orlovic Rados; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3419. A bill for the relief of Carmen Yaki; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3420. A bill for the relief of Ioannis (John) Asimakopoulos and his wife, Maria Asimakopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3421. A bill for the relief of Giuliano Giusti and his wife, Nella Giusti, and their son, Walter Giusti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3422. A bill for the relief of Pasquale Martini; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3423. A bill for the relief of Romeo O. Jackson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3424. A bill for the relief of Joseph Orban, his wife, Martha Esther Orban, and their son, Joseph Gerard Orban; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3425. A bill for the relief of Harold George Pereira, his wife, Winifred Caroline Pereira, and their children, Joseph Maurice, Anthony Francis, Beverly Ann Maria, Nathaniel Francis, Joachim Boniface, and Thomas James Pereira; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3426. A bill for the relief of Isola Ar-right; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3427. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Kay Sue Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3428. A bill for the relief of Jack Sun (also known as Sun Hun Chak); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3429. A bill for the relief of Mohammed Ali Amool and his wife, Sedighi Tan Hal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3430. A bill for the relief of Yim Mei Lam; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3431. A bill for the relief of Alan Charles Austin Gabriel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3432. A bill for the relief of Miss Mamako Yoneyama; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3433. A bill for the relief of Ernesto Caputo and Carlucella Caputo, his wife; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3434. A bill for the relief of Natalia Lores Cachero; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3435. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Maxima E. Chua; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3436. A bill for the relief of Tom Wal Min; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3437. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Wan Yau Louie; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3438. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Desolina Giannone (nee Delucchi); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3439. A bill for the relief of Romeo de la Torre Sanano and his sister, Julieta de la Torre Sanano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3440. A bill for the relief of George Pan (also known as Chang Chen Pan); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3441. A bill for the relief of Tom Keng Foo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3442. A bill for the relief of Lee Foo Sai; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3443. A bill for the relief of Kaoruko Matsuo Van Dine; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3444. A bill for the relief of Lee Sai Wal (also known as Lee Ging Ying); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3445. A bill for the relief of Wah Kin Wong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3446. A bill for the relief of Regina Gebriel Chiari (also known as Gina Chiari); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3447. A bill for the relief of Aryiros Vasilou Petropoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3448. A bill for the relief of Nora Bik-Shu Li; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3449. A bill for the relief of Luz May-ugba Reyes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3450. A bill for the relief of Dapen Liang, his wife, Alice Tsai-hung Y. Liang, and their children, Gladstone C. K. Liang, Nancy C. C. Liang, Dora C. F. Liang, May C. M. Liang, and John C. P. Liang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3451. A bill for the relief of Shek Chi Ng; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3452. A bill for the relief of Socorro Guillen Picado; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3453. A bill for the relief of Denis Paul Sauvageau; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3454. A bill for the relief of Wai Sing Ko; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3455. A bill for the relief of Karthamada Thimmalya Carippa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3456. A bill for the relief of Manuel Laygo Guillermo (also known as Manuel Guillermo Laygo); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3457. A bill for the relief of Georgios Dimitrios Sevastelis and his wife, Efstahia Sevastelis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3458. A bill for the relief of Antonio Tobias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3459. A bill for the relief of Crescencia C. Valdes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3460. A bill for the relief of Carmen Esperanza Centeno Vasquez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3461. A bill for the relief of Evangelina de la Vega; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3462. A bill for the relief of Hee Ngew Yee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3463. A bill for the relief of Hui Kwok Ying, his wife, Lee Pui Chan, and their children, Hui Man Kwan, Hui Yueng Yin, Hui Ching Yin, Hui Man Ha, Hui Man Hung, Hui Man Yee, and Hui Man Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3464. A bill for the relief of Wong Hong, his wife, Chung Choi Kum, and their children, Wong Yiu Chung, Wong Lai Mui, and Wong Ching Man; to the Committee on the Judiciary.



H.R. 3465. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Sylvia Ross; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 3466. A bill for the relief of Anna Maria Bani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 3467. A bill for the relief of Antonio Penna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COWGER:

H.R. 3468. A bill for the relief of Surjeet Singh Dhanjal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H.R. 3469. A bill for the relief of Maria Stanislaw Zagorska Prochazka; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 3470. A bill for the relief of Enrique Aurelio Baca-Patlan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3471. A bill for the relief of Francesco Corigliano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ERLBORN:

H.R. 3472. A bill for the relief of Walter A. Radeloff; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBERSTEIN:

H.R. 3473. A bill for the relief of Calogero Di Maggio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3474. A bill to require the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to determine the amount and validity of the claim of Ike Ignac Klein against the Government of Hungary, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 3475. A bill for the relief of Michael Stefanakis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3476. A bill for the relief of John P. Ramoglou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3477. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Brancata; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3478. A bill for the relief of Ancilla Zeni; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3479. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Rubino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3480. A bill for the relief of Antonio Raccuglia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3481. A bill for the relief of Calogero Troia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3482. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Storta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3483. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Scalici; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3484. A bill for the relief of George Niskopoulos and Amalia Niskopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3485. A bill for the relief of Zdravko Drazic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3486. A bill for the relief of Attilio Marra; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FRIEDEL:

H.R. 3487. A bill for the relief of Leonidas Gregoropoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GUBSER:

H.R. 3488. A bill for the relief of Milford W. Henry; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARVEY:

H.R. 3489. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rebil Mehmet Hankan and his wife, Mesadet Seher Hankan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 3490. A bill for the relief of Dr. Reynaldo C. Soriano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HERLONG:

H.R. 3491. A bill for the relief of Gloria de la Jara; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H.R. 3492. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Chu Chai-ho Hay; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KYROS:

H.R. 3493. A bill for the relief of Cita Rita

Leola Ines; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3494. A bill for the relief of Herman Boxer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3495. A bill to authorize the use of the vessel *Ocean Delight* in the coastwise trade; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 3496. A bill for the relief of Shamool Essagh Danil and his wife, Verdian Essagh Danil; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3497. A bill for the relief of Ramiro Velasquez Huerta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McMILLAN:

H.R. 3498. A bill for the relief of D. M. Dew and Sons, Inc., and Dewey Campbell; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MACHEN:

H.R. 3499. A bill for the relief of Safia Talibi Naz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 3500. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jae Eun Bahng; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of Illinois:

H.R. 3501. A bill for the relief of Teresita F. Legmay; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'HARA of Illinois:

H.R. 3502. A bill for the relief of Sypridon B. Adam; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3503. A bill for the relief of Nicolas Dalamangas and his wife Sofia Dalamangas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3504. A bill for the relief of Nick Lellis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 3505. A bill for the relief of Angel Oris Amado Rocha; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3506. A bill for the relief of Pao Hsi Yeh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3507. A bill for the relief of Panagiotis A. Perlingas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PATTEN:

H.R. 3508. A bill for the relief of Gulseppe Gumina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3509. A bill for the relief of Miriam Odenia Bradshaw; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3510. A bill for the relief of Luigi Seminara; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3511. A bill for the relief of Inger J. Ladegaard; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3512. A bill for the relief of Enzo (Enzio) Perotti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3513. A bill for the relief of Chin Wing Teung; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 3514. A bill for the relief of Nicolas Duarte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3515. A bill for the relief of Luis A. de la Vega; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3516. A bill for the relief of Andres Mauricio Candela, M.D.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3517. A bill for the relief of Dr. Moises Mitran, M.D.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3518. A bill for the relief of Ferrum Trading Co., Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3519. A bill for the relief of Salustiano Garcia-Diaz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3520. A bill for the relief of World Mart, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3521. A bill for the relief of Dr. Carlos Modesto Hernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3522. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rafael F. Suarez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3523. A bill for the relief of Chang-You Wu, M.D.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3524. A bill for the relief of Jose H. Kates; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3525. A bill for the relief of Israel Mizrahy, M.D.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3526. A bill for the relief of Sherif Shafey, M.D.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3527. A bill for the relief of Josefina Fulgueira; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3528. A bill for the relief of Isaac Chervony, M.D.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3529. A bill for the relief of Bernardo Benes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 3530. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Sook Ja Duffy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 3531. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Jung Ja Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3532. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Laureana Bernardina Cal de Rodriguez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SANDMAN:

H.R. 3533. A bill for the relief of Rev. Shoyu Hanayama and family; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHNEEBELI:

H.R. 3534. A bill for the relief of Charles A. Noble and others; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHWENGLER:

H.R. 3535. A bill for the relief of Sung-Won Ko; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

12. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Henry Stoner, Portland, Ore., relative to the American merchant marine, which was referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

## SENATE

MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1967

(Legislative day of Thursday, January 19, 1967)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Very Reverend Constantine Berdar, rector, St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

With the Psalmist we pray: *Behold, the Lord who has reigned from eternity, has established His throne for judgment. It is He who governs the world with justice, judges the people with equity. The Lord is a stronghold for the oppressed, a stronghold in time of trouble. Let those who cherish Your name trust in You, for you do not abandon those who care for You, O Lord.*—Psalms 9: 8-11.

Indeed, O Lord, we too raise up our voices on this day when we commemorate the 49th anniversary of the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence and turn to You as the "Stronghold for the oppressed," as He "who governs the world with justice." We pray Thee, grant to this Nation and its people, who were first to become a captive nation,